ANUARIO

DEL

SEMINARIO DE FILOLOGIA VASCA

«JULIO DE URQUIJO»

VI

1972

Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca
"Julio de Urquijo"
VI 1972

✸

Contents: Page

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PRESENTACION

Puesto que las actividades de la Universidad de Nevada (Reno) en el campo de los estudios vascos, tanto en los Estados Unidos como entre nosotros, quedan perfectamente explicadas por la autorizada voz del coordinador del programa, mi buen amigo el doctor William A. Douglass, sólo me falta indicar con la mayor brevedad posible el modo y manera en que el Seminario "Julio de Urquijo" ha intervenido en la publicación de los trabajos que se reunieron como fruto permanente del Seminario de lingüística vasca que, dentro de un programa más amplio, se desarrolló en Ustaritz y Aránzazu, durante el verano de 1972.

Tuve el honor, junto a otros, de ser invitado a él y, cuando se mencionó la conveniencia de que los trabajos fueran publicados, me atreví a sugerir que nuestro Seminario acaso desearía recogerlos en su ANUARIO. Porque, si bien es verdad que ahora las prensas —o sus sucedáneos— gimen entre nosotros abrumadas por la carga que pesa sobre ellas, no es menos cierto que este trabajo va guiado a menudo por certeras directrices comerciales, o que al menos se creen tales. Y el mercado del género inglés, o americano en lengua inglesa, no parece haber alcanzado en nuestro país la amplitud suficiente. Faltan aún, probablemente, compradores.

La dirección del Seminario "Julio de Urquijo" aceptó esa sugestión, por fidelidad a una tradición que entre nosotros estableció antes que nadie don Julio y que el Seminario, más que ninguna otra entidad, está obligado a seguir. No creo que ningún lector, si acepta que hay otros valores además de los estrictamente comerciales, pueda pensar, tras haber recorrido las páginas de este volumen, que el gasto ha sido inútil.

Si se me permite una nota personal, deseo expresar mi gratitud a cuantos, empezando por Bill Douglass, hicieron posible mi participación en el Seminario de lingüística vasca, a mis compañeros de aquí y de allá, y a los que asistieron al curso que me fue confiado. Por amigos y colegas como Antonio Tovar, Emilio Alarcos, Fernando Lázaro o José Luis Pensado, sabía de la amabilidad y paciencia del oyente norteamericano (aunque, por aquello del melting pot, no todos fueran en este caso estrictamente norteamericanos, ni siquiera americanos), pero, por una vez, las ponderaciones ajenas quedaron más que confirmadas por la experiencia personal. No puedo, pues, por menos de agradecerles la benevolencia con que pasaron por alto defectos que no consistían sólo en el más que deficiente manejo de la lengua oficial.

En el momento en que iban estas líneas a la imprenta, me ha llegado —veloz, como todas las malas novedades— la noticia de la muerte de Eloy Placer, compañero de armas y letras, que tanto hizo aquellos días para que nuestra convivencia fuera lo más grata posible. Es una pérdida que todos y yo el primero sentimos como propia, porque es propia en el sentido más preciso de la palabra.

AURKEZPEN GISA

Hitz bitan bederen azaldu nahi nituzke bestetan eta beste hizkuntza-tan azaldurik agertzen ez diren zenbait puntu. Kontaturik baitago beste-tan nola sortu zen 1972-an Nevadako Unibertsitateak Euskal herrian pres-tatu zuen Euskal linguistika ikastaldia, baita ere zergatik eta nola gure Urkixo Mintegi honek argitara dituen bere urtekarian ikastaldi haren fruitu diren honako lan hauek.

Ingelesez daudelako, ez dut uste inork harritu behar lukeenik: ez harri-tu, ez tristatu, ezta kezkatu ere. Ingelesa ez da agian oraingo linguistika-ren hizkuntza; bai, ordea, darabiltzan hizkuntzen artean erabilienetakoa, eta are erabiliena ere. Ingelesik jakin gabe, irakurtzeko adina bederen, ezin gaitezke urrutiegi joan bizi garen munduan.

Zozokeria handia litzateke oraingo linguistika osoa Ipar-amerikanoen eskuetan dagoela sinestea. Are handiagoa, haatik, geure bidetik lasai ibil gaitezkeela uste izatea haien saioen berri jakin gabe. Gutiegi arduratzen omen dira haiek hemen, Europan, egin eta egiten direnez. Hobendun dira, dudarik gabe, hori egia baldin bada, baina hobendunago ginateke gu, geure buruari ederretsiz, esku artean darabilten lanari kasurik egiten ez bagenio. Indartsuago dira gu baino, eta indartsuago direnak jakintsua-gotzat hartu ohi dira.

Honako artikuluok gure artean sortu diren eta sortzen ari diren hiz-kuntzalariei eskaintzen dizkiegu, ohar daitezen nola aspaldidanik ezagu-tzen diren gauzak beste ikusmoldez ikus daitezkeen. Ez zaizkigu, behar bada, zaharrak baino hobeak irudituko. Nolanahi ere, besteren begiak maiz aski geurk —agerrian eta aurkez-aurk izan ditugulako apika jaioz geroz-tik— ikusten ez ditugunak ikus ditzake. Eta besteren begiz baliatzeak gure bista gehitzea eta zorroztea dakar beti, ondorio gisa. Besteren hutsak edo huts-uztezkoak nabari bazaizkigu, horrenbestez nabarmenduko zaizkigu etxekoek maizegi egin ohi ditugunak ere.

Euskara aztertzea ez da, inolaz ere, euskara lantzea. Azterketa, halaz guztiz, ez da inoiz lantzearen etsai izan. Laguntzaile izan da, deus izate-kotan, eta, laguntzaile ez bada ere, ezin daiteke behintzat eragozkarri izan. Hau duzue, nolabait esan, harako **défi américain** hura, euskal lin-guistikaren eremuan. Gurean sartu bazaizkigu ere, adiskide bezala sartu zaizkigu oraingoan. Bestela, gainera, ezin sar zekizkigukeen. Ditugun on-dasun urrietarik, hizkuntza da nornahirekin bana eta zati dezakeguna, zenbat eta partituago, orduan eta osoago eta aberatsago geldituko zaigu-lakoan. Ongi etorria zor diegu, beraz, eta zor dieguna, bestetan ez be-zala, bihotz-bihotzez eskaintzen diegu.

<div align="right">Luis MICHELENA.</div>

Salamanca.

INTRODUCTION

The present volume is the result of a seminar in Basque linguistics held in the summer of 1972 under the co-sponsorship of the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada System and the Idaho Office of Higher Education. Since these organizations are probably unfamiliar to most readers of this work, the editors have asked me to describe their history.

In the year 1961 the University of Nevada System created a research organization for the purpose of studying the ecology of the arid areas of the western United States. The new Desert Research Institute consisted of four laboratories —Atmospheric Physics, Water Resources, Desert Biology and the Western Studies Center. Thus the institute was designed to further research in climatology, hydrology, the physical environment and, through the Western Studies Center, the social history and anthropology of western North America.

Through the years the majority of programs within the Western Studies Center have focussed upon the prehistory, ethnohistory, and ethnography of the American Indian. However, at the recommendation of an advisory committee of anthropologists from the Universities of Chicago, California (Berkeley) and Colorado it was decided that the new studies center ought to focus upon the Basques of the American West as well. This was in recognition of the fact that the Basque sheepmen had contributed considerably to the history of the American West, yet their historical role was little studied and poorly understood. It was also felt that the center could make a contribu-

tion to the study of the various ethnographic and linguistic problems posed by European Basque society. Finally, it was believed that the Basque Studies Program would be of particular interest to the 50,000 to 100,000 Basques currently living in the American West.

At that time Robert Laxalt, director of the University of Nevada Press, himself the son of a Basque sheepman, was asked to do the initial planning for a Basque Studies Program. His interest was long standing since he had authored the book Sweet Promised Land, a biography of his father's life in the American West. Robert Laxalt travelled to the French Basque area to spend a year collecting new materials for a book on European Basques. At the same time he contacted many scholars and institutions to discuss the University's interest in Basque Studies. The Basque scholar Phillippe Veyrin was particularly enthusiastic, and shortly before his death specified that the University of Nevada be given the opportunity to acquire his personal library. In 1967 the Veyrin collection became the nucleus of a growing Basque library at the Reno campus of the University.

Meanwhile, in 1967 William Douglass was named Coordinator of Basque Studies at the Western Studies Center. He was a social anthropologist who between 1962 and 1965 had conducted field work in the villages of Murelaga, Vizcaya and Echalar, Navarra. In 1969 part of the results of this work were published in the book Death in Murelaga. William H. Jacobsen, Jr., a linguist on the Reno campus, became the Coordinator of Basque Linguistics within the program. He has authored several papers on the subject. In 1968 Jon Bilbao, author of Los Vascos en Cuba and Eusko-Bibliographia, joined the staff as research associate and bibliographer. In 1969 Eloy Placer, author of Lo Vasco en Pío Baroja, joined the department of Foreign Languages on the Reno campus. In 1970 Yoshiko Hendricks, former student at the university of Pamplona, joined the staff of the Getchell library as cataloguer and undertook the organization of the Basque collection. In 1971 Linda Gastañaga joined the staff as research assistant.

In its several years of existence the Basque Studies Program has developed a number of activities. A Basque publications series was established in the University of Nevada Press in order to make available to the English-speaking audience a number of new titles and translations of classic works in Basque Studies. Between 1967 and 1972 the Program conducted a major archival and field study of the history and present condition of the Basques of the American West. The results are to be published in 1974. The Program also

circulates a newsletter to five thousand subscribers, located mainly throughout the American West. The library collection presently includes approximately eight thousand titles. It has become a center of attraction for scholars from around the nation. At the same time the staff provides courses in Old World Basque Culture, Literature, Linguistics, History and Elementary Spoken Basque at the Reno campus. Less frequently courses are offered in rural communities of the State where there are large concentrations of Basques.

It was out of these courses that the idea of organizing a Basque Studies Summer Session Abroad emerged. The Program began to receive many inquiries from other states as to the availability of Basque courses. It was felt that there was sufficient interest to warrant organizing a summer course in the Basque country where the students would have first hand contact with Basque life and European Basque scholars could participate.

In the summer of 1970 a modest program with twenty-two American students (from nine different states) was held in Ustaritz. Jon Oñatibia taught a course in Elementary Spoken Basque, Eloy Placer taught Basque Literature, and Jon Bilbao and William Douglass taught Old World Basque Culture. The results were favorable and it was decided to repeat the summer school in future years.

Meanwhile, there was growing interest in Basque Studies in the State of Idaho. As early as the mid-1960's the University of Idaho at Moscow, at the urging of John Sita (linguist with a special interest in Basque linguistics), initiated a program of library acquisitions. The effort continues and the collection of Basque titles currently comprises about fifteen hundred items. Mr. Joe Eiguren, a Basque of the Boise area, published a language learning method and a short history of the Basques. He also taught the language at the Boise Basque Center. In 1971 the University of Idaho hired Richard Lane, an anthropologist (whose fieldwork was conducted among the Basque sheepherders) and initiated a course in Old World Basque culture. In southern Idaho two former students of the Ustaritz program offered courses. Father Ramon Echevarria taught Old World Basque Culture at Idaho State University (Pocatello) and Miren Rementeria taught the language at Boise State College under the auspices of the Idaho Office of Higher Education.

In light of this developing interest in Basque Studies the Idaho Office of Higher Education resolved to petition the National Endowment for the Humanities for the necessary funds to sponsor

*further activities. Several of the proposed projects, notably an ex-
change of personnel for lectures and courses and co-sponsorship of the
Basque Studies Summer Session Abroad, involved a joint effort with
the Basque Studies Program of the University of Nevada System.*

*The Idaho proposal was approved and provided sufficient scho-
larship aid to help needy students to attend the projected 1972
summer program. It also permitted organizing a special seminar in
Basque linguistics designed to provide a number of qualified gra-
duate students in linguistics with exposure to problems in Basque
linquistics. Rudolf de Rijk of the University of Chicago and Luis
Michelena of the University of Salamanca consented to teach the
seminar. A national scholarship competition was organized and the
students received assistance.*

*The following were the participants in the seminar, arranged
according to the universities from which they came: University of
California, Berkeley: Glenn Ayres, Sarah Baker, Carlos Zarabozo;
University of California, San Diego: Quentin Pizzini; University of
Chicago: Claudia Corum, Jeffrey Heath, D. A. Holisky, Charles
L. Roll; University of Idaho: John B. Sita; University of Illinois:
Jürgen J. Döllein; McGill University (Canada): Françoise Donzeaud;
University of Nevada: William H. Jacobsen, Jr.; New York Univer-
sity: Ramón M. S. Bereicua Basauri.*

*The program was conducted as an intensive and semi-autono-
mous activity within the broader six weeks session of Basque studies.
The time was divided between Ustaritz and the Convento de Arán-
zazu in Oñate.*

*The present papers constitute part of the results of the linguistics
seminar. Those of us who are involved in furthering Basque Studies
in the United States would like to take this opportunity to thank
everyone who helped make this year's program a success. We are
hopeful that we will be able to organize future summer programs in
an ongoing effort to bring Basque Studies to the awareness of the
American academic community. It is our special desire that in future
years the subject of the special seminar will touch upon other aspects
of Basque culture such as its prehistory. folklore, social and physical
anthropology.*

Morphological Evidence of Abstract
Verbs in Basque

Glenn Ayres

0. In many languages, there are clause structures which some-times and perhaps typically function as complements of verbs, but which can also function as independent sentences. One strategy for analyzing such clauses, which may permit a simple description of their distribution and facilitate an explanation of their meanings, is to hypothesize that at some underlying level they occur only as complements of verbs. In some circumstances, a verb which has such a clause as its complement may be deleted, and the clause appears in the surface structure as an independent sentence. The deleted verbs have sometimes been called «abstract verbs» (1).

An analysis employing this strategy for Latin subjunctives has been given by R. Lakoff (1968) (2), who notices that they may occur either as complements of certain verbs or as independent sen-tences. Further, she notices that *venias*, for example, is ambiguous as an independent sentence: it may express a wish, a possibility, or an imperative. It may be negated with either *ne* or *non*, depending on the meaning. When it functions as the complement of a verb

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(1) There has been some debate concerning whether these verbs are to be identified with particular verbs which show up in surface structure, or to be regarded as having no phonological shape. Although some of the material dis-cussed in this paper may bear on this question, there will be no explicit discussion of it here.

(2) To the best of my knowledge, this sort of analysis was first used by J. Katz and P. Postal (1964), for English imperatives and questions.

which appears in surface structure, the meaning of the verb of which it is the complement determines (except for a few verbs which do not take the expected negative in their complements) which negative may be used to negate it. To explain these facts, Lakoff hypothesizes that the subjunctive mood is a marker of complementation. *Venias* as an independent sentence has several underlying sources, in which it is the complement of one of several different abstract verbs. With this proposal, it is possible to account for its ambiguity, and, since abstract verbs behave syntactically like other verbs in their meaning class, to explain at the same time where *ne* and *non* may be used.

Below, we will look at the major Basque sentence types to see which of them have morphological features which suggest that they originate as complements of abstract verbs. The first three sections deal with sentences which are roughly interrogative, imperative, and declarative. In the fourth section, the possibility that tense functions as an abstract verb is considered.

1. Interrogative clauses which are complements of explicit verbs always have an *-(e)n* complementizer (3) suffix, regardless of the meanings of the verbs of which they are complements. For yes-no

> *erran dazu nor den hor* «tell me who is there»
> *ez dakit zertako egina duen* «I don't know why he did it»

question complements, an *-etz* may follow the *-(e)n* suffix:

> *ez dautazu erran ikusi duzunetz* «you have not told me if you have seen it»
> *ez dakit etorriko denetz* «I don't know whether he will come».

There are some constructions which share the structural features of these complements which we have noticed, but which are not complements of the sorts of verbs we would expect. In some cases, they are not complements of any verbs at all. In these cases, a

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(3) The notion of a complementizer was first suggested by P. Rosenbaum (1967), who treated them as transformationally inserted markers of subordination. R. Lakoff (1968) claims that the subjunctive mood serves the same function in Latin. More recently, J. Bresnan (1972) has proposed that complementizers have semantic content, and that they are inserted by phrase structure rules. Their distribution is determined by selectional restrictions. For our purposes here, it is not necessary to decide between these two possibilities.

> *gau guzia nigarrez ari izan zen, ea ez zenetz hunkitua* «he cried all night: (judge) if he was not touched!»
> *etorri zitzaikun, jan nahi ginuenetz* «he came to us (to ask, find out) if we wanted to eat»
> *banindagon nola behar ginen jalgi* «I was wondering (lit. 'I stayed'; sometimes used as an auxiliary verb) how we would have to leave»

verb of judgement, perception, or communication is understood. For these sentences, the strategy of analysis which we are interested in may be expected to lead to a reasonable account of the facts.

Both independently and in complements, it is possible to use the verb radical or participle rather than a full verb phrase. Independently,

> *zer ikas* «what to learn»
> *zer egin* «what to do»
> *erran daut zer ikas* «he told me what I should learn»
> *badakit zer egin* «I know what I will do»

such constructions cannot be genuine requests for information, but are somewhat like rhetorical questions. The meaning of these constructions is not clear enough to me to permit me to postulate an underlying source for them with confidence, but they may come from sources meaning something like «can you tell me what I should learn, what I will do?» A rule which optionally drops auxiliaries in complements of explicit verbs is necessary, and we can let it also apply in complements of abstract verbs. By deriving these constructions in this way, we are in a position to use the deleted material to explain the meaning: if they were derived from sources which differ from them only in that they have an auxiliary, we would expect them to have the same meaning as ordinary questions (see below), and they don't; if they were derived by phrase structure rules only, we could not predict from their underlying structure what they would mean.

In contrast to these two sorts of independent structure, ordinary questions show no morphological indication of being derived from underlying sources in which they are complements (except the sort of structure to be considered in section 4 below). They may have an *-a* suffix, or no suffix at all, or they may be formed with

> *ikusi duzuia* «have you seen it?»
> *girixtino zare* «are you Christian?»
> *nor da* «who is it?»

ez ahal nute ikusi «they haven't seen me, I trust?»
ikusi ote nute «have they really seen me?»

the modal *ahal* or *ot(h)e*. None of these constructions can be used as the complement of an explicit verb. The *-a* suffix may not occur in complements, and all complements must have an *-(e)n* comple-

ez dautazu erran ikusi duzun(etz) «you have not told me if you have seen it»
ez dakit girixtino zaren «I don't know if you are Christian»
ez dakit nor den «I don't know who it is»
ez dakit ikusi ote nuten «I don't know if they have really seen me»

mentizer. On the basis of the sort of evidence we are investigating here, there seems to be no reason to postulate abstract verbs for direct questions. In fact, if we do postulate such verbs, we must attribute to them grammatical properties which are not shared either by explicit verbs or by other abstract verbs. On the other hand, if such underlying sources could be motivated on the basis of other considerations, they could be easily accommodated by restricting the rule which inserts complementizers or having a rule which deletes them in these sentences.

2. There are several constructions in Basque which are used to give something like imperative or hortative force, as exemplified in the following chart, based on the verb *joan* «to go»:

Person	Simple	Periphrastic	Simple + *-(e) la*	Periphrastic + *-(e) la*
1 sg.	*noan*	*joan nadin*	*	*(ez nadila joan)*
pl.	*goazin*	*joan gaiten*	*	*(ez gaitela joan)*
2 fam.	*hoa*	*joan hadi*	*	*(ez hadila joan)*
sg.	*zoazi*	*joan zaite*	*	*(ez zaitela joan)*
pl.	*zoazte*	*joan zaitezte*	*	*(ez zaiteztela joan)*
3 sg.	*bioa*	*joan bedi*	*doala*	*joan dadila*
pl.	*bioaz*	*joan bitez*	*doatzila*	*joan ditela*

Person	Participle	Infinitive radical
2	*joan*	*joan*

Either the infinitive radical or the participle, without an auxiliary, may be used as an imperative. In our example, the infinitive radical and the participle are homonymous, but this is not true of all verbs: compare *gal* (inf. rad.), *galdu* (part.) «to lose»; and *etor* (inf. rad.), *etorri* (part.) «to come».

Simple imperatives differ from ordinary present tense forms in several ways: a) First person forms must have an *-(e)n* suffix. (Some dialects have no first person singular imperatives.) b) In second and third person forms, the third person agreement prefix is ∅-: *emadazu* «give it to me» but *demakogun* «let's give it to him», with some variation in different dialects. c) When an imperative is addressed to a third person, a *b(e)-* prefix is necessary before the person agreement prefix. The corresponding forms with *-(e)la* are commonly used in place of those with *b(e)-*. Neither the ∅- nor the *b(e)-* prefix occurs in any nonimperative construction.

Most verbs have only a periphrastic conjugation. The auxiliary used in periphrastic imperative forms exhibits the same peculiar features which were noted in simple imperatives above. Depending on whether the verb is transitive or not, the auxiliary employed must be either *izan* er *edin,* the same auxiliaries that are used in subjunctives. Both periphrastic imperatives and subjunctives are formed with the infinitive radical. Subjunctive forms occur without an *-(e)n* or *-(e)la* suffix in only a few constructions.

Imperative forms with an *-(e)la* suffix differ from ordinary subjunctives only in that not all subjunctives have an *-(e)la* suffix. They never have a *b(e)-* prefix or a ∅- third person agreement prefix.

Simple forms and simple forms with *-(e)la* cannot be negated: **ez zoazi, *ez doala.* Further, in some dialects at least, forms without an *-(e)n* or *-(e)la* suffix cannot be negated: *ez gaiten joan, ez gaitela joan, *ez zaite joan.* All imperatives with an *-(e)la* suffix, except those directed to a third person, cannot go unnegated: **joan zaiteztela.*

The infinitive radical imperative could plausibly be analyzed as having a deleted auxiliary: the infinitive radical is also used in all periphrastic imperatives. However, it is more difficult to explain the use of the participle as an imperative, since it does not occur in any other form in the imperative chart. Possibly a semantically satisfactory source for these imperatives could be found by making use of the fact that participles occur with verbs like *gogo* «to intend», *behar* «to need», and *nahi* «to want», as in *jan nahi dut* «I want to eat». This sort of construction is possible only when the intender, needer or wanter is the same as the actor (in this sentence, the eater), so

the underlying source of the participle imperative *jan* «eat» would have to be something like *jan behar duzu* «you need to eat». Alternatively, and perhaps equally plausibly, the participle imperative construction could be a result of the participle's being confused with the infinitive radical. As mentioned above, the two forms are sometimes homonymous, but they can usually be distinguished by the auxiliaries with which they occur. This suggestion can be formalized by having a transformation which substitutes a participle for an infinitive radical in this sort of construction.

First person imperatives with *-(e)n* are morphologically similar to complements of sentences like *nahi dut egin dezazun* «I want that you do it». Though there are a few other constructions where the same morphological features (i.e. *-(e)n* suffix and subjunctive auxiliary) are found, a construction with *nahi* seems semantically most satisfactory as a possible underlying source.

Simple and periphrastic imperatives without *-(e)n* or *-(e)la* are particularly difficult to suggest sources for because they do not occur in any other sort of construction. (Simple forms and the corresponding indicatives may sometimes be homonymous.) The most closely similar construction which I have been able to discover is that of a sentence like *nahi nuke jin baladi* «I would like it if he came». Since this is a conditional, no *-(e)n* or *-(e)la* suffix is necessary. The auxiliary is the same as in the imperatives, and the *ba-* prefix bears some resemblance to the *b(e)-* prefix which is used with some of the imperatives. Because of these similarities and the semantic similarity between this sentence and these imperatives, it does not seem totally unreasonable to suggest that these imperatives are derived from constructions with an abstract verb much like *nahi* in this sentence; the complement of this verb would have no tense morpheme and a Ø- third person agreement prefix, and *b(e)-* in place of *ba-*, sometimes obligatorily deleted. Postulation of an abstract verb in this case does not greatly simplify Basque grammar, but the analysis does suggest that this construction is not as unrelated to all other constructions as it seems to be.

The *-(e)la* suffix is used with the complements of communication verbs and various other sorts of verbs. For example, *erran du joan ditela* «he has said that they should go» is one way to give an indirect discourse report of the imperative which serves as its complement. However, to analyze *-(e)la* imperatives simply as complements of an abstract communication verb does not explain the use of the subjunctive-forming auxiliary or the imperative force. Rather, it seems that the indirect discourse complement has a subjunctive-form-

ing auxiliary because the imperative does, and not vice versa. If these imperatives originate instead from sources in which they are complements of an abstract verb like *agindu* or *manatu,* the choice

   agindu (manatu) dut egin dezazula «my orders are that you do it»

of auxiliary and the imperative force make sense. A problem is that these verbs may also take complements with an *-(e)n* suffix,

   agindu dut egin dezan «my orders are that he do it»

but this sort of complement by itself cannot be understood as an imperative. This may have something to do with the fact that these verbs take *-(e)la* complements because they are communication verbs and *-(e)n* complements because they are verbs of volition. Another problem is that this source does not seem very good semantically for first person imperatives, maybe because these are formed on analogy with second person imperatives. We could have a transformation which optionally changes *-(e)n* to *-(e)la* in negative first person imperatives. Despite these difficulties, I am unable to suggest any other alternative source for *-(e)la* imperatives which comes close to being semantically satisfactory.

   I have no explanation for the constraints on negation of imperatives.

   There are some difficulties, but imperatives seem generally to be moderately susceptible to the strategy of analysis which we are considering in this paper.

   3.   In declarative sentences, as in questions and imperatives, the auxiliary can sometimes be dropped: *erranak erran* «what is said is said».

   As noted above in the discussion of imperatives, the *-(e)la* suffix occurs with complements of communication verbs and various other sorts of verbs. This same suffix sometimes also occurs in declarative clauses which are not complements of any explicit verb.

   *gizon ona dela, bere haurrak segurik abereak bezala erabiltzen
      ditu* «(it is said) that he is a good man; yet he treats his
      children like animals»
   itxasora botako ninduela etorri zitzaidan «he came to me (saying)
      that he would throw me into the sea» (Guipúzcoan)

In these cases, a communication verb is understood.

Although the -*(e)n* suffix is used with subordinate clauses in various sorts of constructions, it is not used with independent declaratives, except as noted below in section 4 of this paper.

J. Ross (1970) has claimed that declarative sentences originate from underlying sources in which they are complements of abstract higher performative verbs, and Basque morphology seems to bear on at least two aspects of this claim. The -*(e)la* suffix (= -*(e)n* + -*la*), which is used with declarative complements of communication verbs, presumably including the abstract declarative performative, is the same suffix that is found in *hunela* «in this way» and other deictic adverbs derived from genitive forms of demonstrative pronouns. This suggests that complements of communication verbs are not arguments of these verbs but modify them adverbially (4). It has been held (G. Lakoff (1970) and elsewhere) that at least some adverbs are themselves higher verbs. If -*(e)la* adverbs are higher verbs, then they cannot be below the verbs which they modify, so, if Ross's abstract performative is like other communication verbs, it cannot be higher than its complement. Since it is not clear whether -*(e)la* adverbs are higher verbs, this feature of Ross's proposal cannot be evaluated at this point.

Putting aside for the present the question of whether an abstract performative verb could be a higher verb, we can look at whether there is any morphological indication that every declarative sentence has a performative verb associated with it in any way at all. As with questions (see section 1 above), there is no advantage in postulating an abstract verb of which ordinary declaratives are complements. An abstract declarative performative would not be like other communication verbs since its complement never has -*(e)la*. Moreover, this difference cannot be written off as a difference between explicit and implicit verbs, or between main clauses and others. However, if Ross's performatives could be justified on other grounds, it would be possible to write rules to accommodate them. A precedent for writing rules which apply only in the complements of some abstract verb was set in the discussion of imperatives above (section 2).

4. J. McCawley (1971) has argued that English tenses are higher verbs which take sentences as their arguments. Morphological evidence suggests that McCawley's proposal is only partly correct for

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(4) A similar situation apparently obtains in English sentences like *dogs go* '*bow-wow*' or *he argued thus:* '...', where the quoted material seems to be functioning adverbially.

Basque: the -*(e)n* suffix is obligatory with the past tense of an auxiliary or other simply conjugated verb, but no suffix is

> *ikusi zuen* «he had seen it»
> *ikusi du* «he has seen it»

necessary with the present tense, so one might wish to propose that the past tense, but not the present tense, is a higher verb.

Although it is very difficult to get any sort of intuitive feeling for the difference between these two analyses, there is one way in which the revision seems slightly more attractive: the past tense expresses a relation of an event to the present, but the present tense does not seem to have this sort of content.

In English, present tense has no phonological shape, and there is no other morphological indication of its existence, so one might wonder why McCawley postulates its existence there. In McCawley's analysis, present is realized as $\emptyset$ and past as *have* in environments where agreement has not applied (e.g. in infinitives, after modals, etc.). A *have*$_{AUX}$ is dropped if it follows another *have*, so that the iteration of past in surface structure is restricted. Although McCawley gives elaborate arguments to show that past is a verb, present in his system apparently serves only two functions: i) to explain where *do*-support applies (p. 97): «Auxiliaries are exceptional by virtue of undergoing a transformation of «tense attraction» which combines them with an immediately preceding tense morpheme. All other transformations that might appear to treat auxiliaries in a special way (for example, subject-verb inversion) are simply transformations that follow «tense attraction» and have a structural description calling for the first verb.» The word *do* is inserted where one of these transformations results in a stranded tense. ii) to provide a means for constructing distinct structures which give rise to the past and present perfect tenses. The *have* that appears in the present perfect is a past tense under a present tense, and therefore not in a position to undergo agreement.

There are several ways to get a stranded affix requiring *do*-support if we assume that present tense is just the absence of a past tense. For example, the stranded affix could be an agreement affix which undergoes McCawley's «tense attraction» and counts as a verb for the same transformations that past does.

McCawley proposes not «that the present perfect is ultimately the present of a past but rather that through deletions it acquires

3

a derived constituent structure having a present as its highest verb and past as its next highest verb» (p. 104). It would be out of place to give a detailed reanalysis of McCawley's proposal here, but he needs to postulate structures which are deleted, and we could suggest that it is these structures, rather than a present tense, which block agreement and lead to the realization of past as *have* in present perfects.

At the end of his article, McCawley notes two things which his analysis does not explain: why there are iterated past tenses but no iterated present tenses in English, and why tense is an obligatory category in English. Our proposed reanalysis offers answers to both questions.

5. Superficial comparison of the morphological features of sentences and sentential complements of verbs in Basque suggests that in many but not all cases it is reasonable to analyze the former as being derived from sentences in which they function as verb complements. A deeper analysis of Basque grammar is necessary before any of the tentative conclusions set forth here can be taken as definitely established.

* * *

The Basque data for this paper comes primarily from P. Lafitte (1962). Thanks are due to Rudolf P. G. de Rijk and Luis Michelena, whose extensive comments on earlier versions of this paper have saved me from making many mistakes, and to François Bidaurreta, who served as my informant. None of these people are responsible for the uses to which I have put their data and comments here.

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A Survey of Linguistic Variables in the Central Zone of the Deva River Valley

The zone of Placencia in contrast with its
neighboring towns of Eibar and Vergara

Ramón M. S. Bereicua Basauri

The present survey was carried out during the summer of 1972, at the conclusion of the Basque Linguistics Seminar, conducted by the University of Nevada, in Ustaritz (France) and Oñate (Spain). At the outset, I would like to record here my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Rudolf P. G. de Rijk of the University of Chicago, for his scholarly advice and encouragement. I am also deeply indebted to Professors Dr. L. Levine, Dr. Ray Dougherty and Dr. R. Costello of New York University, for having initiated me into the fascinating world of modern linguistics. Finally, I thank Mr. Josu Oregui and Rev. Aniceto Zugasti, members of the Basque Academy, who with their constructive criticism made this project possible.

The study of Basque subdialectology is at an incipient stage. Considerable research has been already done in the area of the traditional main dialects, but, unfortunately, little interest has been shown in recording the subdialectal variables of the towns and hamlets that dot the Basque countryside. The study of these subdialects deserves our careful attention and we cannot overlook its importance as a means of unravelling the complexity of the mechanics of linguistic change.

The urgency of the task of compiling valuable data should not be underscored, as we are witnessing at present, in the Basque country, a noble and praiseworthy endeavor to create a unified literary language that could do away with the main dialects and also usher in the death knell of the subdialectal peculiarities of a millenary and unique language in Western Europe.

This paper will cover some aspects of phonology and morphology peculiar to Placencia. The survey is far from being exhaustive and we consider it as a modest beginning that could spark further and more thorough study in Basque subdialectology.

Placencia is a small town of about six thousand inhabitants, along the river Deva, in the province of Guipúzcoa. Most of the population

is engaged in industry. Its long industrial tradition dates back to the year of 1573, when there is historical evidence of the existence of an important royal arms factory. However, the municipal area includes also 82 farmhouses (baserri in Basque), of which 72 are still inhabited.

From a dialectological point of view, the people speak the Biscayan dialect. The Deva River forms the boundary between the Biscayan and Guipuzcoan dialects. Besides, the lower zone of the Deva Valley (Vergara, Placencia, Eibar), has subdialectal differences that set it apart from the upper zone of Salinas de Léniz, Mondragón and Arechavaleta. Further, the speech of Placencia presents special characteristics that make it unique.

It is within this general framework that we shall try to describe some of the linguistic variables found in Placencia. Whenever possible, we shall present them in contrast with those of Eibar and Vergara, which are respectively 5 and 8 km. away from Placencia and belong to the same subdialectal group. To further elucidate the contrast, reference will also be made to other neighboring dialects and subdialects, whenever necessary. The map reproduced here will show the location of the area under consideration.
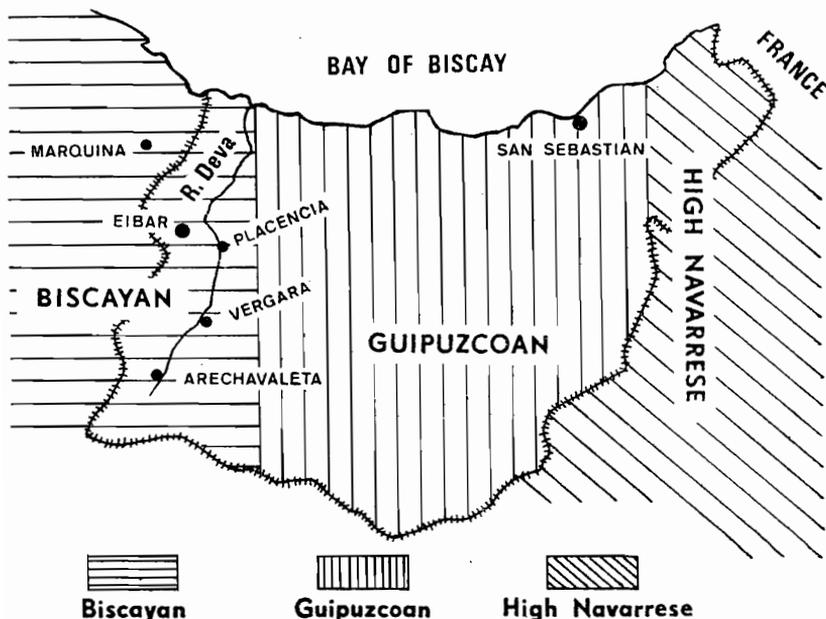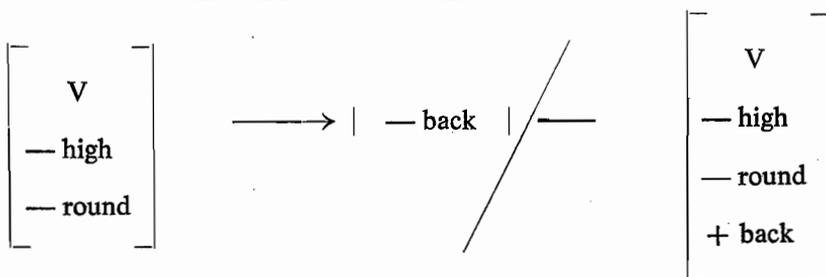
Most of the linguistic variables are found in morphology and are related to verbal forms. However, we shall start this survey with a reference to the topic of vowel interaction. Vowel harmony rules are found in many Basque dialects and subdialects. They play an important role in the overall functioning of the language, as the definite article is -a, affixed to base nominals, many of which end in a vowel.

Generative Phonology with its concept of ordered rules is of the greatest importance for Basque dialectology and it is within this context that we shall consider several aspects of vowel interaction (1). Basque has a five vowel system: i, e, a, o, u, with no distinctions of tenseness or length. The exceptional ü vowel will not be considered here. Using the system of binary features designed by R. Jakobson, M. Halle and N. Chomsky to characterize classes of vowels, we have the following table for Basque vowels:

	a	o	e	i	u
high	—	—	—	+	+
back	+	+	—	—	+
round	—	+	—	—	+

Using the notational conventions of Generative Phonology, we shall expand a general rule, common to the whole Biscayan area and which is listed in VIBB as «Rule Raa»:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} V \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{round} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow | - \text{back} | \Big/ \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} V \\ - \text{high} \\ - \text{round} \\ + \text{back} \end{bmatrix}
$$

----

(1) An excellent paper on the subject has been written by Prof. Rudolf P. G. de Rijk in Fontes Linguae Vasconum, "Vowel Interaction in Biscayan Basque". Editorial Aranzadi, Pamplona, Año 2, N.º 5 (1970). References to this article will be in the abbreviated form of VIBB.

This rule means that low unrounded vowels (a, e) are fronted before a low unrounded back vowel (a); that is,

$$a + a \longrightarrow e \ a$$

alaba bat (one daughter)   alabea (the daughter)
neska bat (one girl)   neskea (the girl)

In Placencia, however, the above rule has been simplified in such a way that the feature [— round] no longer appears in the environment of the rule. We have, then, a more general rule called in VIBB «Rule Rao»:

$$a + a \longrightarrow e \ a$$

$$a + o \longrightarrow e \ o$$

alaba bat   alabea   alabe ori (that daughter)
neska bat   neskea   neske ori (that girl)

We shall now list, using a simplified notation, the different patterns of vowel interaction in the zone of Placencia. References to Biscayan and Guipuzcoan will be abbreviated and entered as (B) and (G), respectively.

a)   A + A $\longrightarrow$ E A $\longrightarrow$ I A
      $\overline{\hspace{2cm}}$

In Placencia, Vergara and Eibar, we have:
alabia   neskia   errekia   (the brook)
Other forms: alaba (G)   alabea (B)   alabie (B)

b)   E + A $\longrightarrow$ I A
      $\overline{\hspace{2cm}}$

In Placencia, Vergara and Eibar:
beste (other)   bestia (the other)
Other forms: bestea (G)   bestie (B)

c) I + A $\longrightarrow$ I A
    $\overline{\hspace{1cm}}$ $\searrow$ IXE or IXA

In Placencia, Vergara and Eibar:
aizeri (fox)   aizerixa (the fox)   x = [š]
Other forms: aizeria (G)   aizerixe (B)

We notice that in Placencia and other Biscayan areas, the epenthetic glide y turns into a true consonant.

d)   O + A ———→   U A

In Placencia, Vergara and Eibar:
asto (donkey)   astua (the donkey)
Other forms: astoa (G)   astue (B)

Let us conclude this section with two peculiar problems of merging consonants:

e)   *Merger of sibilants and affricates*

TS ———→ TS   (older generations of Vergara and Eibar)
TS ———→ TZ   (Vergara and Eibar)
TS ———→ TX   (Placencia)   TX = [Č]
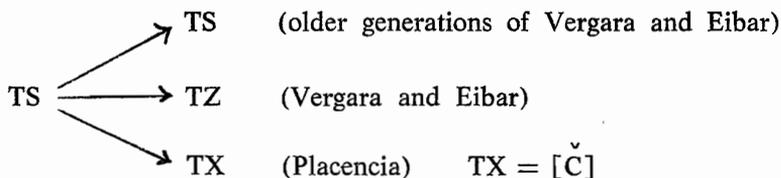
moltzo (rag, heap)

the rag   moltsua   (older people of Vergara and Eibar)
    moltzua   (Vergara and Eibar)
    moltxua   (Placencia)

In this connection, I would like to mention that the nickname given to Placencia is —Autxerri—, from —auts— (dust) and —erri— (village). It does not mean «dusty village», but rather «the village that pronounces —autsa— AUTXA».

f)   *Palatalization of dentals*

IT ———→ IT'   (Vergara and Eibar)
IT ———→ ITX   (Placencia)
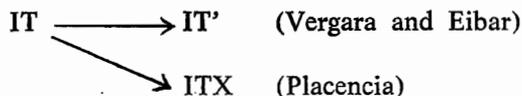
ditut (I have - when the object is in the plural)

DIT'UT   (Vergara and Eibar)
DITXUT   (Placencia)

(T' denotes a palatalized, but non-affricated *t*)

We shall now deal with some of the linguistic variables found in verbal forms. We shall simply list them without any particular order or arrangement.

1. *DITUT*. Present Tense of the verb IZAN (to have)

Marquina	Eibar	Vergara	Placencia
DITUT	DIT'UT	DIT'UT	DITXUT
DITUK	DIT'UK	DIT'UK	DITXUK
DITU	DIT'U	DIT'U	DITXU
DITUGU	DIT'UGU	DIT'UGU	DITXUGU
DITUZU	DIT'UZU	DIT'UZU	DITXUZU
DITUZUE	DIT'UZUE	DIT'UZUE	DITXUZUE
DITUE	DIT'UE	DIT'UE	DITXUE

2. *Dative Auxiliary Transitive Forms* (I to him)

Marquina	Eibar	Vergara	Placencia
DEUTSAT	DETZAT	DOTZAT	DOTXAT
DEUTSAK	DETZAK	DOTZAK	DOTXAK
DEUTSA	DETZA	DOTZA	DOTXA
DEUTSAGU	DETZA(G)U	DOTZA(G)U	DOTXA(G)U
DEUTSAZU	DETZAZU	DOTZAZU	DOTXAZU
DEUTSAZUE	DETZAZUE	DOTZAZUE	DOTXAZUE
DEUTSE	DETZE	DOTZE	DOTXE

Besides the forms found in Marquina: «Nik ari deutsat», we have also the typical (B): «Nik zuri deutsut».

In the above forms we notice the following combinations of sounds:

EU ————— TS   (Biscayan)
O ————— TZ   (Vergara)
O ————— TX   (Placencia)
E ————— TZ   (Eibar)

3. *Variables in Dative Forms* (Let him bring it to me)

Ekarri da(g)idala	(Biscayan)
Ekarri daidala	(Vergara)
Ekarri deixadala or	
Ekarri deixarala	(Placencia and Eibar)

Both of the last two forms may occur. In Placencia there is mostly *d*.

4. *Familiar Verbal Forms for men and women*

(I have brought it)

	Biscayan	Vergara-Placencia-Eibar
Men	EKARRI YUAT	EKARRI JUAT
Women	EKARRI YONAT	EKARRI JONAT
M.	EKARRI YOK	EKARRI JOK
W.	EKARRI YON	EKARRI JON
M.	EKARRI YUAGU	EKARRI JUAGU
W.	EKARRI YONAGU	EKARRI JONAGU
M.	EKARRI YUEK	EKARRI JUEK
W.	EKARRI YONE	EKARRI JONE

«J» is pronounced like the Spanish *j*.

The future tense of these familiar forms yields the notorious «Ekarriko jone» (They will bring it), so typical of the zone of Placencia.

5. *Synthetic Form of the verb «etorri» (to come)*

Preterit (Imperfect)

Biscayan	Placencia
NI NENTORREN	NI NENTORREN
I ENTORREN	I ENTORREN
URA ETORREN	*ZETORREN*

Vergara	Eibar
NI NENTORREN	NI NENTORREN
I ENTORREN	I ENTORREN
ZETORREN	ETORREN

The italicized forms show Guipuzcoan influence.

6. *Present Tense of the verb «to be»*

I shall list here the main forms found in Biscayan and Guipuzcoan together with the familiar forms of Placencia, Vergara and Eibar.

Biscayan	Guipuzcoan
NI NAZ	NI NAIZ
ZU ZARA	ZU ZERA
BERA DA	BERA DA
GU GARA	GU GERA
ZUEK ZARIE	ZUEK ZERATE
EUREK DIRA	AYEK DIRA

Placencia	Eibar	Vergara
NEU NOK	NI NAIZ	NEU NOK
EU AIZ	ZU ZARA	I AIZ
BERA DOK	BERA DA	AURA DOK
GEU GAITXUK	GU GARA	GEU GAITXUK
ZUEK ZARA	ZUEK ZARIE	ZUEK ZATE
BERAK DIRA	AREK DIRA	ERAK DITXUK

The survey presented here is not exhaustive. Not all the linguistic variables of the area have been treated here. Much more remains to be done in Basque subdialectology and we sincerely hope that others will also continue the work to put Bascology within the reach of the modern linguist. The importance of Generative Phonology, as developed by N. Chomsky and M. Halle, for Basque studies is of paramount importance, and vice versa, we can also say that the

myriad aspects of Basque dialectology should offer a rich ground to generative phonologists.

The present situation in the Basque country is not conducive to an upsurge of Bascology. However, we sincerely hope that enlightened linguists all over the world will not fail to discover the unique richness of one of the oldest living languages in the Western World.

February 2nd. 1973.

R E F E R E N C E S

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S. Altube: Observaciones al tratado de Morfología vasca.

T. Echeverría: Flexiones verbales de Eibar.

G. Bähr: Estudio sobre el verbo guipuzcoano.

Luis Michelena: Fonética Histórica Vasca.

P. Kiparsky: Linguistic Universals and Linguistic Change, in E. Bach and R. T. Harms, eds., Universals in Linguistic Theory.

R. de Rijk: Vowel Interaction in Biscayan Basque, in Fontes Linguae Vasconum.

Palatalization Phenomena in Basque [1]

Claudia Corum

The various Basque dialects exhibit two types of palatalization rules in their phonological components. The first type, which I will refer to as *automatic palatalization,* occurs, as the name indicates, automatically, in a given environment. This environment, in which the rule operates predictably, and invariably, can be stated in terms of phonetic features. I will return to a more detailed account of the rule of automatic palatalization below.

The second type of palatalization that occurs in Basque will be referred to as *expressive palatalization,* following the tradition of Michelena (see Michelena 1969). Expressive palatalization differs from automatic palatalization not so much in the result, the actual phonetic specification, but in the motivation, the environment, and the description of the rule involved. I will deal briefly with the rule of automatic palatalization and then investigate the various properties of expressive palatalization. The focus of the present work is not so much on the data itself (2), but on the problems it presents to the linguist subscribing to a theory of transformational grammar.

(2) I am not in possession of sufficient data to provide more than the barest sketch of how automatic palatalization works. The differing dialects of Basque confound the analysis. A more thorough investigation would be valuable.

AUTOMATIC PALATALIZATION

Automatic palatalization can be divided into two subtypes:

(i)   The velar consonants *k, g,* and *x,* undergo fronting before the vowel *i,* resulting in a softening or palatatization. This softening is productive in many languages other than Basque, in particular in the Gaelic dialects. The Slavic languages exhibit the change of velars to full palatals when they are followed by a front vowel. The rule for such a softening process in Basque could be simply stated as (I will use the feature notation as prescribed in generative phonology. For an explanation of these features I refer the reader to Chomsky and Halle 1968.):

$$
\begin{bmatrix} -\text{anterior} \\ +\text{high} \\ +\text{back} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\,-\text{back}\,] \; / \; \underline{\quad} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{consonantal} \\ -\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix}
$$

(ii)   The second rule of automatic palatalization is more complicated. The consonants *t* and *n* undergo palatalization to become *t'* and *n'* respectively, while *l* and *r* both become *l'* when palatalized. This rule operates automatically when the consonant *follows* the vowel *i,* and is followed by another vowel. Some examples: sorgina [sorgin'a], egina [egin'a], or maitea [mait'ea].

For *r* and *l* the rule must be stated in two parts:

$$
[\text{a.}] \; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{vocalic} \\ +\text{consonantal} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{coronal}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} [-\text{cons}]
$$

$$
[\text{b.}] \; \begin{bmatrix} +\text{voc} \\ +\text{cons} \\ +\text{cor} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{high}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} [-\text{cons}]
$$

For *t* and *n* only one rule is necessary to introduce the feature [+high] that will indicate palatalization:

$$
\begin{bmatrix} +\text{anterior} \\ +\text{coronal} \\ -\text{continuant} \\ -\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [+\text{high}] \; / \; \begin{bmatrix} -\text{cons} \\ -\text{back} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \underline{\quad} [-\text{cons}]
$$

While a more detailed analysis of the role of automatic palatalization in Basque may be of interest to the phonologist, our purpose here is to examine more closely the process of palatalization that is not automatic, but *expressive*.

EXPRESSIVE PALATALIZATION

Expressive palatalization is highly productive in Basque. The various dialects differ in the degree to which they employ the process, as well as differing in the phonetic realization of the process. By way of definition, expressive palatalization is the palatalization (softening) of certain consonants to indicate affection, or to create a diminutive. Basque likewise has a well-developed system of diminutivizing suffixes that differ from one dialect to another but function in a similar role as expressive palatalization (3).

Differing from automatic palatalization, which is strictly conditioned by the environment, expressive palatalization occurs freely in any environment. The phonetic aspects of expressive palatalization are discussed in Michelena (1961), where he notes that this softening occurs unrelated to the surrounding environment (pg. 185). Expressive palatalization is a device the speaker of Basque employs to express his feelings towards the topic. Examples of such palatalization: the use of [neška] for [neska] 'girl', or [eškalduna] for [eskalduna] 'Basque person', or [eškera] for [eskera] 'Basque language'.

Employing a phonological rule that is not otherwise present in the language of the speaker is a common means of expressing emotion or feelings. Baby-talk as spoken by mother to child is an example of using certain phonological devices to express affection. If carried out systematically, this qualifies as *code-switching* by which the speaker employs forms not otherwise present in the language to express feelings. Palatalization is perhaps the most commonly employed phonetic feature of expressive language. In Huichol, an American Indian language, *t'*, *c'* and *n'* are used in place of *t*, *c*, and *n*, in affectionate speech, and when addressing children. Stankiewicz discusses examples of this as well as some Basque examples (Stankiewicz 1964). Besides palatalization, other phonetic features include glottalization and aspiration to indicate emotive language. In Chinook glottalizing stops serves to express emotion.

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(3) When asked, informants only gave diminutive forms using these diminutive suffixes. The expressive forms employing palatalized variants of the consonants were only heard indirectly. Informants were not aware that they used such forms.

While it is interesting to observe how Basque employs expressive palatalization to express emotion, the linguist, whether structuralist or generativist, cannot ignore the problems presented by this process. Emotive language in general has been both purposely ignored as well as overly endowed with importance (4).

For the structuralist whose concern is with levels, the question arises as to which level, phonological or morphological, belong the expressive features. Stankiewicz is aware of this problem when he notes: «The single significant fact about the expressive phonemes or substitution features is their semantic content: they are not merely discriminatory units, but they serve to convey emotive, endearing or pejorative attitudes. In this sense the distinction between phonemes and morphemes is partly cancelled in emotive language, ... The expressive sound-features could, in fact, be viewed as morphophonemic in the broad sense of the word. If they are, nevertheless, treated as phonological, it is because morphophonemic alternations involve phonemes (or features) endowed with grammatical functions, equivalent to those of derivational or grammatical affixes. The 'expressive phonemes' are neither distinctive, nor do they carry or support grammatical distinctions» (Stankiewicz 1964, pg. 253).

Emotive language that employs rules not present in the rest of the grammar, whether they are phonological, morphological, or syntactic, forces the generative grammarian to focus on the problem of where semantic information goes in the grammar (5). In agreement with Stankiewicz, that such expressive features do indeed carry semantic information, there arises the problem of relating the phonetic manifestation of this semantic information to the representation of that information.

The current argument among generative grammarians focuses on this problem. The view of *generative semantics* is that all semantic information is carried in the base or logical structure of the sentence. The *interpretivists* hold that surface rules of semantic interpretation scan the output of the syntactic component and fill-in, or interpret, the semantics of the derivation. For the latter theory of semantic interpretation the problems posed by expressive palatalization are

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(4)   See the first part of the article by Stankiewicz.

(5)   For the reader unfamiliar with generative grammar, I suggest the following: John Lyons, *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics* (Cambridge University Press, 1969); Roderick Jacobs and Peter Rosenbaum, *English Transformational Grammar* (Blaisdell; Waltham, Mass., 1968); or the section on linguistics in Danny D. Steinberg and Leon A. Jakobovits, eds., *Semantics: An Interdisciplinary Reader in Philosophy, Linguistics and Psychology* (Cambridge University Press, 1971).

not so great. A rule of semantic interpretation could simply 'mark' the output of the syntactic component with a feature [+expressive]. This feature would then be carried along into the phonological component where it would trigger the necessary palatalization.

The theoretical position taken here however is not compatible with the interpretivist views. Marking constituents with such features as [+expressive] is merely an ad hoc and unnatural device used to avoid the problems rather than solve them. In lieu of this, however, the generative semantics position cannot offer a solution that would be feasible within the theory as it stands. This is in itself interesting and while a 'solution' per se would be a desirable outcome, adding yet another problem for generative semantics serves to widen our understanding of the grammar as well as more finely define what goes on in a derivation. Expressive palatalization in Basque shows that the speaker's feelings do play a significant role in his speech pattern. Assuming the position of generative semantics we want to represent all semantic information, including that of speaker's feelings, in the logical structure of a derivation. The problem intensifies if we consider *how* the semantic information is to be represented at all. While questions dealing with the semantic representation of implied meanings have been discussed (6), the present writer has no knowledge of any discussion of the semantic representation of speaker's feelings. Suppose, however, that we were able to arrive at a satisfactory representation of speaker's feelings in the logical structure of a sentence. Generative semantics allows reference back to the semantic structure from various levels of derivation by means of global constraints defined over the levels in question. That is, a rule may 'look back' to the semantic structure for information.

Global constraints have generally only dealt with rules applying prior to the phonological component. Some works have dealt with stress rules that require semantic information, but offer no conclusion as to how to relate the necessary semantic information to a late rule of stress assignment. The question arises as to whether a rule of palatalization may 'look back' to the semantic structure to see if indeed the constituent is one expressing speaker's feelings. While this increases the power of global constraints when most emphasis is on limiting their power and more finely defining their range of

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(6) See Gordon and Lakoff "Conversational Postulates" in *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting of the Chicago Linguistic Society,* Chicago Linguistic Society, Department of Linguistics, University of Chicago, 1971 (p. 63-84); Jerrold M. Sadock, *Towards a Linguistic Theory of Speech Acts,* to be published by Seminar Press, summer 1974.

application within a grammar, it appears the only workable 'solution' available.

Expressive palatalization in Basque thus presents a theory of generative semantics with three distinct problems: one, *how* to represent the speaker's feelings in a theory that seeks to provide a full semantic representation of the meaning of a sentence in the base; two, *where* to specify this information, either in the semantic structure, or at some other stage of derivation; and three, *how* to incorporate this semantic information in a late rule of palatalization that will render the required phonetic output for expressive palatalization.

For the linguist interested in data, the system of expressive language in Basque is a rich one. For those interested in seeking out the generalizations that underlie such data and in incorporating them into a theory of grammar, the phenomenon of expressive palatalization in Basque is both challenging and enlightening.

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The Expression of Focus in Basque

Françoise Donzeaud

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. TWO THEORIES OF FOCUS ASSIGNMENT

There are two theories which have tried to account for focus assignment in transformational grammar: the deep structure theory and the surface structure theory. According to the deep structure theory, focus is assigned at the deep structure level. Akmajian (1970) thinks focus is identical to a predicate of the higher clause in deep structure. Chomsky in the standard theory discusses the notion of focus as a predicate of the dominant proposition of the deep structure. The first phrase-structure rule of grammar would introduce two arbitrary structures, F and P, for focus and presupposition, and S' would be the initial symbol of the categorial component of the base.

$$S \rightarrow S' \; F \; P$$

F and P would be realized later as the constituents bearing the focus and the presupposition of the sentence. Later on a filtering rule would specify that the sentence generated is well-formed only if the focus and presupposition determined from surface structure are identical to F and P respectively. The meaning of the sentence would be entirely determined by deep structure.

In the surface structure theory the focus is entirely determined by interpretation rules operating on surface structure. Chomsky (1970, p. 205) defines focus as the phrase containing the main intonation center. This main intonation center is determined either by phonological rules that assign a certain stress contour to a sentence or by emphatic stress rules assigning a contrastive or expressive stress optionally to one of the elements of the sentence. Since both kinds of rules occur at a shallow level in the derivation, focus assignment can be defined only at the surface structure level. This constitutes a counterclaim to the standard theory by which semantic interpretation would be determined by rules operating on the deep structure only. It seems that surface structure is involved in an essential way in determining the semantic interpretation of a sentence.

1.2. PURPOSE OF THIS ARTICLE

We want to propose here a rule of semantic interpretation for focus in Basque which will operate on surface structures. We will argue that the deep structure theory must be dropped in favor of the surface structure theory in assigning focus to a node in the derivation.

1.3. PREVIOUS STUDIES

Among the studies concerned with the question of focus one should mention the Prague School's work on the Functional Sentence Perspective, Halliday's study based on intonation in British English, and last but not least Jackendoff's considerations on focus and presupposition in his book *Semantic Interpretation in Generative Grammar*.

The first two studies argue in favor of a surface structure determination of focus inasmuch as they define a focused constituent according to its syntactic behavior in the surface structure sentence. The Prague School tries to locate the focused item giving a term-to-term correspondence between the theme-rheme (1) sequence of an utterance and the sentence positions. Thus the theme of the utterance usually occurs in initial position, whereas the rheme (the phrase containing the focused item) is sentence final.

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(1) The theme of an utterance comprises the sentence-element(s) that is least informative. The rheme is constituted by the sentence-element(s) that is most informative.

Focus is assigned a particular position relatively to the other sentence-elements, creating a basic word-order.

For Halliday (1967a, 1967b, 1970), focus is defined both at the semantic level as the «new information» brought by the speaker in the communication and at the phonetic level as the item containing the tonic syllable. The choice of the tonic syllable is dependent on many intonational factors such as rhythm, the distribution into tone groups, the location of tone group boundaries. The tonic always begins on the last new lexical item.

Jackendoff's definition of focus is also determined from the surface structure sentence as the phrase P for which the highest stress in the sentence will be on the syllable of P that is assigned the highest stress by the regular stress rules (see Jackendoff 1973, p. 237). Jackendoff and Akmajian both claim that focus should be assigned at two levels of derivation: at the level of the semantic representation of the sentence and during the syntactic derivation (surface structure for Jackendoff). Jackendoff proposes to assign a syntactic marker F to a node. This marker is further realized as bearing an emphatic stress, by an emphatic stress assignment rule applying after all other stress rules have applied in the derivation. Chomsky (1970) gives evidence for a surface structure determination of focus. It is technically impossible that deep structure fully determines focus since the focused phrase as determined by the constituent carrying the main stress is not necessarily a phrase of the deep structure. Thus *John is certain to win* (see Chomsky 1970, p. 202), may have the surface structure constituent *certain to win* for focus but there is no constituent of deep structure dominating *certain to win*.

2. SCOPE OF THE STUDY

2. 1. DEFINITIONS

Here the term focus will be understood as the value which, assigned to the variable in the presupposition of a sentence, forms an assertion about this sentence. For instance in

(1)   Aitona etorri da
Grandfather has come,

the presupposition (i.e. the proposition that must be true in order for the sentence to have a truth-value) will be

(2)   X etorri da.

Any value replacing X in the above presupposition will constitute the focus of the sentence. Thus when «aitona» replaces X in (2), it yields an assertion (1) which is true only with «aitona» for focus. In

(3)   Ez da aitona etorri
Not has grandfather come.

the assertion of (1) is negated but the presupposition (2) still holds, i.e. «aitona» is the wrong focus chosen for the sentence (2).

2. 2. FOCUS ASSIGNMENT

In the following sections, an attempt will be made to propose a focus assignment rule for Basque which will be based on syntactic factors. First, evidence will be presented for a syntactic surface structure determination of focus in Basque. Then, a description of the system of focus-marking in Basque will follow, based on Altube's work *Erderismos* (see references). Lastly we will try to give an account of focus-marking in Basque in terms of transformational grammar. This will lead us to the formulation of a semantic interpretation rule for focus in Basque.

3. FOCUS AS A SURFACE STRUCTURE SYNTACTIC PHENOMENON

In his chapter on «Focus and Presupposition» Jackendoff (1973) proposes to assign a syntactic marker to a node. But Jackendoff does not specify when this F marker must be attached to a node: at the level of phrase-structure rules, as proposed by Akmajian (1970), or at the surface structure level.

Some facts about Basque rule out the assignment of the F marker at the level of deep structure. If the marker were assigned at the deep structure level, this would mean that one could determine which node would bear the focus in the surface. This is impossible in Basque. The focused constituent must occur in a definite position. Since Basque is a «scrambling» language, like Latin, the order of the constituents is relatively free, i.e. not determined by any phrase-structure rule. However, in the surface structure, the constituent in focus must always be in focus position, i.e. immediately precede the verb in affirmative sentences (see section 4).

(4) Aita *gaur* dator
Father today is coming.

(5) *Makillaz* jo nuan
With a stick beat I-past-him.

(6) *Sutan* erre degu (2)
In the fire burned we have.

The foci *gaur, makillaz, sutan* respectively precede the verbs *dator, jo nuan, erre degu*. Basque has been argued to be a verb-final language by R. de Rijk (1969). If the final position of the verb in the sentence can be predicted from the deep structure, no phrase-structure rule can place the node that will bear the focus in preverbal position, since the order of all constituents is relatively free, and since transformations like scrambling can reorder them in the sentence during the derivation. For instance if negative sentences are transformationally derived, they will yield a different key-position for the focus. The constituent in focus must be in the scope of the negation, i.e. immediately on the right of the verbal proclitic *ez* followed by the verb.

(7) Ez dakit *noiz etorriko dan*
I don't know when he will come.

(8) Noiz etorriko dan *ez dakit*.

In (8) the negative verb itself is in focus, no constituent being in the scope of *ez*.

If the syntactic marker F was assigned by a phrase-structure rule in Basque, it would have to be attached to a constituent in pre- or post-verbal positions by such rules as the following:

(a) S → NP F VP

F would be realized in the surface structure as a focused constituent or as the particle *ba* proclitic to the finite verb.

If the sentence is negative or if the verb is followed by a long sequence of constituents, (b) would apply:

(b) S → (neg) VP F NP...

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(2) Examples taken from *Erderismos* (see references).

F might or might not be realized as a focused constituent on the surface.

However this arbitrary symbol F would be like a dummy since it does not necessarily correspond to a constituent of the surface structure, as shown by Chomsky (1970 —see section 1.3.). Besides, transformations may bring new constituents in the surface sentence that were not present in deep structure. For instance in the Bizcayan sentence

(9)   *Etorri* dator aita

Come is coming father (Father is coming),

the verb is in focus. If rule (a) would apply, we would get

(10)   *Ba-dator* aita.

Then a later rule would introduce *etorri,* the normal infinitive or past participle of «to come», before the synthetic verb form *dator* («is coming») and yield the wrong sentence

(11)   **Etorri ba-dator* aita,

where focus is marked twice.

When the periphrastic flexion of the verb is used, the verb is marked as focus by introducing the periphrastic verb *egin* (to do) after the verb of the sentence:

(12)   *Etorri* egin da aita.

According to rule (a), *egin* should bear the focus instead of *etorri.* Focus is determined redundantly at the two levels of deep structure and surface structure. The preceding arguments constitute evidence that F cannot be assigned by a phrase-structure rule without yielding the wrong focus since focus is also determined by later rules. A better account of focus assignment would be given by a surface interpretation rule assigning focus to any constituent in preverbal position (preceding the finite verb form or *egin*) and to the verb preceded by *ba,* in the case of affirmative sentences.

4. FOCUS-MARKING SYSTEM IN BASQUE

Focus is marked syntactically in Basque at the surface structure level in two different ways. First, the focused constituent, called «miembro inquirido» by Altube (1930), occurs in a definite position in the surface structure sequence of sentence-elements. This position differs according to certain factors. The factors determining focus-position are mainly syntactic. Thus focus-position differs in affirmative and negative sentences. In affirmative sentences, the focused constituent occurs in immediate preverbal position.

(13) *Asko* dakargu
Much we carry.

(14) *Atzo* etorri da
Yesterday come he has.

(15) *Oraintxe* dator
Now (intensive) he is coming.

(16) Orain *etorriko* da
Now he will come.

Only the modal particles *omen (ei), ote (ete), al, bai(t), bide* violate this general principle.

(17) *Oraintxe* ei-dator (Biscayan)
He is said to be coming now.

(18) Oraintxe *etorriko* ei-da
He is said to be coming now.

But these particles are considered as part of the verbal group. An argument for such a position is provided by the stress shift from the synthetic verb (normally accented on the first syllable) to the modal particle, thus creating a verbal group also accented on the first syllable:

éi-da, ál-dator.

In negative sentences, the element(s) in focus must always be

in the scope of the negative verb (3). Thus in the case of negative sentences focus-position is always postverbal.

(19) Miren'ek ez daki *noiz etorriko zeran*
Miren not know when you will come.

The constituent *noiz etorriko zeran* is in focus.

There are some deviations from this basic pattern. These are due to certain verbs which must be specified as modifying the focus-position in the sentence. For instance *esan* (to say) has the same behavior as a negative verb inasmuch as it requires a postverbal focus. It must be mentioned here that in modern speech in Basque the negative morpheme and the auxiliary to which it is proclitic have changed position in the sentence and under the influence of Spanish, occur less and less in sentence final position. In actual speech, the negative flexion is then often followed by elements which are in the scope of the negation and therefore in focus-position. The effect of this change of usage is a change of focus in the sentence.

Focus is also marked morphologically in the sentence. Pronouns in focus take an «intensive» suffix *-(t)xe.*

(20) *Auxe* da ederrena (4)
This one is the most beautiful.

(21) *Auxe* emon deuste
They have given me this one.

This suffix is not specific of a focused pronoun and constitutes its emphatic form. Pronouns must be marked for emphasis when in focus.

In the case when the focused constituent is the verb, some morphological material is introduced in the sentence. In affirmative sentences, a proclitic particle *ba* is attached to the focused verb.

(22) *Ba*daukat zeregiña tretzakaz (Aguirre)
I have a job to do with the «tretzas» (a «tretza» is a fishing line with many hooks used for catching sea-bream).

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(3) The elements in the scope of a constituent are those situated on the right of this constituent in the linear sequence of words in the sentence.
(4) Examples (13)-(18), (20)-27) are taken from Altube (1930).

This proclitic particle is restricted to synthetic verbs. In that case the focus is put on the affirmative quality of the verb. When the verb itself is in focus two cases must be considered: when the verb is conjugated synthetically (dator, dabil, dakar...), its past participle is placed before it (in the Bizcayan dialect described by Altube):

(23)   *Etorri* dator aita.

(24)   *Ibilli* dabil ori.

(25)   *Ekarri* dakar.

In the periphrastic conjugation the periphrastic flexion of *egin* is introduced between the verb and the auxiliary (5):

(26)   *Etorri* egin da aita.

(27)   Aita *etorri* egingo da.

In both cases the verb is in focus in spite of the material (egin) occurring in focus-position before the auxiliary.

In this brief sketch of Altube's review of the form of the «elemento inquirido», only simplex sentences have been considered (except for (19)). Some variants may occur with subordinate clauses which are disregarded in the present study.

5. A SEMANTIC INTERPRETATION RULE FOR FOCUS ASSIGNMENT

As hinted in section 3, focus assignment in Basque would be accurately accounted for by a rule of semantic interpretation applying at the surface level. By «semantic interpretation rule of focus assignment» we mean a rule that will mark the portion of semantic reading in the sentence which corresponds to a focused constituent in the syntactic surface structure. Consider a sentence like

(28)   Aita dator.

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(5) Sometimes instead of *egin*, the verb phrase is repeated, giving instead of *Ekarri* neuk egin neban, *Ekarri* neuk ekarri neban.

Scrambling can apply to (28), changing the order of constituents and yielding

(29)   Dator aita.

On the other hand, the particle *ba* must be inserted in a sentence in the position before AUX after pause. The structural description for *ba*-insertion is thus met in sentence (29) but not in (28), since there is already a constituent in initial position. If the constituent «aita» was to be chosen for focus in (28), scrambling should be constrained so as not to apply when it would move the focused item out of focus-position.

Scrambling should be equally constrained in negative sentences. Consider the negative sentence

(30)   Ez-dator aita.

If «aita» is chosen for focus in (30), it should not be moved out of the scope of the negation. Therefore scrambling should not apply in (30) in that case. If scrambling applies, «aita» is no longer in focus:

(31)   Aita ez-dator.

In (31) the focus is the negative verb itself.

In order for sentences (28) and (30) to yield the right focus, we would have to constrain scrambling from applying several times. It seems more convenient to adopt the following solution: allow all transformations, including scrambling, to apply to a sentence, and then formulate a post-cyclic rule (if we admit that transformations in Basque apply in a cycle), or a last rule of *ba*-insertion whenever the structural description Pause___AUX is met. Then we state the following interpretation rules at the surface structure level:

In the case of affirmative sentences:

1.   Assign the value focus to a verb if preceded by *ba*.

2.   Otherwise assign the value focus to any constituent in pre-verbal position.

In the case of negative sentences:

1.   Assign the value focus to a verb if preceded by *ez* and not followed by anything else in the scope of the negation.

2.   Otherwise assign the value focus to any constituent in post-verbal position in the negative sentence.

This formulation, however, is far from being complete. We still have to account for the presence of *egin* and for the duplication of the verb in front of its conjugated form in some sentences. This could be done by adding some conditions on the preceding rules.

We are aware that the sketch proposed here for a semantic interpretation of focus in Basque needs further development but we hope it will contribute to a better understanding of the relations holding between the semantic readings of a sentence and the expression of focus in Basque.

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Genitivization in Northern Basque Complement Clauses

Jeffrey Heath

I will begin with a brief review of some basic aspects of Basque clause structure (1). In main clauses, the verbal complex contains obligatory marking of pronominal categories in ergative, absolutive, and dative cases. Ergative is the case of transitive subjects (TS's), absolutive that of transitive objects and intransitive subjects (TO's, IS's), and dative that of indirect objects. In modern Basque, these pronominal markers are ordinarily added to a special auxiliary verb, while the main verb has only an aspect suffix (periphrastic conjugation); only a few verbs can optionally add the pronominal markers directly (synthetic conjugation). The predominant periphrastic type can be illustrated by this example (Guipuzcoan dialect):

(1) txakurr - a   il - tzen   det
      dog   the kill asp   1s-3s

The notation «1s-3s» indicates first singular ergative plus third singular absolutive, so the translation is «I am killing the dog». The overt TO *txakurr-a* has no case suffix, since absolutive is the unmarked case. If the independent first singular pronoun were added,

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it would have the ergative suffix *-k* (*ni-k txakurr-a il-tzen det*). Because of the pronominal markers in the auxiliary *det* (analyzed as third singular absolutive *d-*, auxiliary root allomorph *-e-*, and first singular ergative *-t*), the independent pronoun *ni-k* is not necessary, though it can be optionally added.

The indicative verbal constructions typical of main clauses are similar in structure to certain verbal constructions in subordinated clauses. For example, indirect quotations and related clauses are formed by merely adding a suffix to a main-like clause. Subjunctive, potential, and conditional clauses show specialization in the verb morphology, but we still have obligatory pronominal marking, usually in the auxiliary verb.

However, there are other subordinated clauses which are not finite (i.e. show no pronominal marking in verb complexes). In these clauses the verb is in one of three forms —radical, perfective participle, or infinitive. (In some dialects the first two may not be distinguished.) The infinitive clause, which we are primarily concerned with, contains a verb marked with the infinitive suffix *-tze-* (or allomorph *-te-*), plus whatever nominal suffixes are required by the context. The infinitive version of (1) would be this:

> (2)   txakurr - a   il - tze -
>   dog   the kill inf
>   «killing the dog»

To this, we could add definite *-a* and a zero case marker to produce an IS (absolutive case), as in «Killing the dog is bad». Or, we could add *-ko*, «for», and get a purpose clause: «in order to kill the dog». In infinitive constructions the presence or absence of definite *-a-* is largely determined by the following nominal suffix, so we need not worry about this.

We will anticipate some of the upcoming discussion by noting that in (2) it is not clear who is the TS of «to kill» in the infinitive clause. If the TS is the first singular pronoun, we could add *ni-k* to make this clear. Or we could leave it out and rely on context to clarify the situation. As we will see later, not all such potential ambiguities can be resolved so easily in infinitive clauses.

In the Guipuzcoan dialect, from which (1) and (2) are taken, overt NP's in infinitive clauses have the same case marking as in main clauses (e.g. ergative for TS, absolutive for TO or IS, etc.). This seems to be the situation in all of the main Basque dialects south of the Spanish-French border.

In the northern dialects (Labourdin, Low Navarrese, and Souletin) there is one important difference. Here the TO of a transitive infinitive clause is genitivized, while TS's and IS's are unaffected:

(3)   ni - k   txakurr - a - ren   hil - tze -
      I erg   dog   the gen   kill inf
      «my killing the dog» (lit. «by me the dog's killing»).

The rule responsible for introducing genitive -(r)en in this construction will be referred to as TO-GEN; for the time being we will leave open the question of whether this is a special rule or merely a special case of a general genitivization rule.

TO-GEN raises several interesting questions about Basque syntax, and deserves a more thorough study than is possible here. I will suggest one possible approach, which I feel is on the right track but which may be rejected by other scholars. My approach will be to examine in what ways TO-GEN facilitates the interpretation of surface structures and to contrast the actual system with a hypothetical one lacking TO-GEN. Among other things, I will offer speculations as to why the rule does not affect IS's, though in many respects IS's and TO's are syntactically related, and as to why the rule might be restricted to the northern dialects.

Much of this paper will be oriented toward the Labourdin dialect. The only detailed discussion of TO-GEN that I have found is in Lafitte's grammar (2) of literary Labourdin and Low Navarrese. Lafitte appears slightly biassed toward Labourdin, and anyway there do not seem to be any notable differences in the two dialects with respect to TO-GEN. I have been able to check Lafitte's remarks by reading a portion of Axular's devotional work *Gero* (published 1643) (3), a landmark in Basque literature and of linguistic interest as a faithful reflection of the Labourdin dialect of several centuries ago. Various points were also cleared up in an all-too-brief session with Professor Haritschelhar of Bordeaux, a native speaker of Low

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(2) Lafitte (1962). The relevant section is that on the "infinitif nominal", pp. 206-223. Case-marking is specifically discussed on pp. 221-223. Most of the Basque examples cited in this paper are taken from Lafitte, generally without specific acknowledgement. Quite a few have been altered in various ways, and one or two errors may have crept in, though I do not think they affect any major points. Quotations from Lafitte in the following pages are from the section mentioned above unless otherwise noted.

(3) I have used Axular (1964), the recent edition by Father Villasante. Sentence (17) later on is taken from *Gero*. The evidence obtained from *Gero* agrees nicely with Lafitte's remarks in all important points.

Navarrese. No real divergences between Lafitte's rules and the actual data from *Gero* and the informant session were turned up, though some additional facts were discovered. There are, however, some genuine differences between these dialects and Souletin in the details of TO-GEN, and these will be discussed at the end of the paper.

I will assume that base forms of infinitive clauses are like those of main clauses, except that aspect and tense markers are absent (this point may be controversial, but is irrelevant for our purposes).

Our first problem is the deletion of underlying NP's, especially TS's, TO's, and IS's, in infinitive clauses. One deletion rule is essentially identical to English EQUI-NP DELETION, whereby a certain NP in a higher clause can cause deletion of a coreferent NP in the infinitive clause. This rule seems to be at work in sentences like this:

(4) txakurr - a - ren   hil - tze - ra joan - ∅ nintzen
         dog   the gen   kill inf   to go asp   past 1s
     «I went to kill the dog.»

Here the independent pronoun *ni-k* («I-erg.») is ungrammatical in the infinitive clause («I went for me to kill the dog»). This deletion rule generally affects TS's and IS's of subordinated clauses; I do not have enough data for a full discussion.

Not all deletions can be explained in this way, however. Pronouns in ergative, absolutive, and dative cases can be deleted even when EQUI-NP DELETION can not apply. Such independent pronouns tend to be emphatic and are usually avoided if possible. In the absence of pronominal emphasis we can get sentences like this:

(5) txakurr - a - ren   hil - tze - a   on - a   zen
         dog   the gen   kill inf the good the was 3s
     «Killing the dog was good.»

When it is common knowledge who did the killing, or when it does not matter who did, this sentence causes no interpretative difficulties. However, if the pronominal category of TS is of some importance, omitting the independent ergative-case pronoun would be a problem. Only the clumsy procedure of adding an overt pronoun, ordinarily reserved for genuine emphasis, could mark this category explicitly.

Without going into details, I suspect that this deletion may be typical of third person demonstratives rather than of first and second person pronouns, which have somewhat more of a propensity to

resist deletion. For the purposes of this paper, the ins and outs of deletion are not crucial. The existence of some form of deletion in infinitive clauses is, however, significant.

The second problem to be dealt with is the determination of the level at which TO-GEN applies.

It can be shown that it follows the basic case marking rules, and that it also follows certain raising rules.

That TO-GEN follows the basic case-marking rules can be seen most clearly by the interaction of TO-GEN and partitivization. The latter rule adds the partitive suffix *-(r)ik* to IS's and TO's with indefinite specification in negative contexts; the general process is analogous to the familiar rule in French grammar.

(6)   gizon - ik   ez   dut   ikhus - ten
      man   part   not   1s-3s   see   asp
      «I do not see any man/men.»

In the corresponding infinitive, we again get partitive *gizon-ik*, not genitive singular *gizon bat-en* («a man's») or the like:

(7)   ba - noa, gizon - ik   ez   ikhus - te - ko
      emph   go 1s   man   part   neg   see   inf   for
      «I go in order not to see any man/men.»

Contrast this sentence with (8), where the TO is definite:

(8)   ba - noa, gizon - a - ren   ez   ikhus - te - ko
      emph   go 1s   man   the   gen   neg   see   inf   for
      «I go in order not to see the man.»

My interpretation of this is that TO-GEN is inapplicable to any NP containing an overt case suffix. (It does not apply to *any* NP without such suffixes, since it fails to affect IS's, but it can not apply unless this condition is met.) The addition of the partitive suffix therefore suffices to block TO-GEN. It can not be claimed that partitivization removes NP's from the TO function, since the auxiliary in (6) is marked for third singular TO. Whether or not this is correct, it is obvious that partitivization precedes TO-GEN and can block it.

The principle that TO-GEN can only affect a NP lacking overt case suffixes can also be used to explain why northern Basque differs from many other languages in genitivization of TO's and not TS's. In Turkish, for example, TS's but not TO's are regularly genitivized.

If we look at the functions represented by the NP's which are subject to genitivization in these languages, the rules appear to be completely different. However, in both northern Basque and Turkish it is the morphologically unmarked case which is genitivized, so from the formal point of view the same thing is going on in each.

Partitivization is clearly a postcyclic rule, since the element that triggers it —usually the negation *ez* 'not'— does not have to be in the same clause as the noun to which the partitive is assigned, but can be several clauses higher up in the tree structure of the sentence. Now, if TO-GEN is postcyclic, it must follow all cyclic rules. Therefore, further support for our position is found in the fact that we can show by independent evidence that TO-GEN follows a cyclic raising rule. Consider this sentence:

(9)   liburu   hoi - k   irakur - tzen   ditut
      book   that   pl   read   asp   1s-3p
      «I am reading those books.»

Ordinarily, the corresponding infinitive clause would be this:

(10)   liburu   hoi   -   en   irakur   -   tze   -
       book   that   gen.pl   read   inf
       «reading those books»

If the next clause up contains the verb «to go», and the infinitive itself is marked with the allative suffix *-ra* or *-rat*, we can get the expected form:

(11)   liburu hoi-en irakur-tze-rat   noa
                                   to   go 1s
       «I am going to read those books.»

But, according to Lafitte, for some writers we can also get this (4):

(12)   liburu   hoi - k   irakur - tze - rat   noatza
                  pl   to   go 1s-3p

       «I am going to read those books.»

There is apparently no significant difference in meaning, but there certainly is a syntactic difference. In (12), the underlying TO of the infinitive clause is raised into the main clause as TO of the

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(4)   Lafitte (1962), p. 255. His example has been simplified here.

now transitive verb «to go». This verb must be marked for third
plural object, so the suffix -*tza* is added. Without the infinitive clause,
the transitive use of «to go» is completely ungrammatical:

(13) *liburu   hoi-k   noatza
      *«I am going those books.»

(The grammatical sentence *liburu hoi-eta-rat noa,* «I am going to
those books», is a totally different construction.)

It would seem difficult to state this raising rule if it followed
TO-GEN, since possessive genitives can not be so raised. The only
natural statement of the rule would be at a stage where TO-GEN
has not yet applied and so the TO is morphologically unmarked.
My conclusion is that, on a given cycle, TO-GEN is a relatively late
rule, since it must follow some basic case marking rules and probably
follows the raising rule.

The structure to which TO-GEN applies is essentially this:

(14)
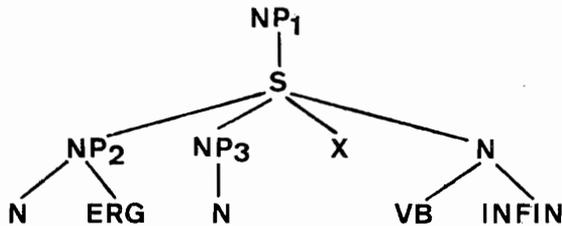
The effect of the transformation is to add the genitive suffix to
the noun dominated by NP$_3$.

The question now is whether TO-GEN is an independent rule
or merely a case of a general genitivization rule which also produces
possessive genitives, as in (15):

(15) gizon - a - ren   txakurr - a
      man   the   gen   dog   the
      «the man's dog»

The latter analysis seems plausible, since the TO could be consid-
ered a modifier of the nominalized verb, and since nominal modi-
fiers of nominal elements normally become genitives.

However, there are problems with this analysis. The main ob-
jection to it is that it does not explain why IS's are not genitivized
in intransitive infinitives:

(16)   ni   ethor - tze - ko
       I   come   inf   for
       «for me to come»

With the suppletive first singular genitive *ene* this is ungrammatical (**ene* *ethor-tze-ko*).

I will not claim that IS's and TO's are syntactically identical at all levels, even though both take the absolutive case in main clauses. There are differences between them, especially in rules affecting subordinate clauses. For example, in certain type of complements we get a non-finite complement when the TS or IS is coreferent to a NP in the next clause up, but a finite one (e.g. a subjunctive clause) otherwise, even when the TO is coreferent. EQUI-NP DELETION may also affect IS's differently from TO's.

However, we have already showed that TO-GEN is a fairly late rule, so the question is whether there is any syntactic difference *at this level* which would account for the application of TO-GEN to TO's but not IS's. Since case-marking has already applied, IS's and TO's have been grouped together morphologically in opposition to ergative TS's before TO-GEN applies. TO's have no particular tendency to appear closer to verbs than do IS's, so word-order does not provide a way out. All in all, there seems to be no natural explanation of why TO's but not IS's are genitivized, if this genitivization is considered as merely a special case of the general genitivization rule.

Speaking of word-order, this is another area where TO-GEN seems a bit anomalous. In possessive constructions, the possessor NP must precede the possessed NP directly, as in (15). With few exceptions, this order is fixed, and normally no elements may intervene between the two NP's.

In infinitive clauses, however, a genitivized TO may appear anywhere in the clause:

(17)   liburu   bat - en ,   euskara - z ,
       book   a   gen   Basque   with

       guztiz ere   euskara - rik   baizen
       especially   Basque   than   other

       etziakitenentzat   . ,   egi - te - a
       for those who did not know   make   inf   the

       «to make a book, in Basque, especially for those ignorant
       (of languages) other than Basque»

Here the genitivized TO is *liburu bat-en*, and is separated from the infinitive *egi-te-a* by several intervening elements. The genitivized TO may even be extraposed:

(18)   ikhus - te - ra joan nintzen bada eri horr - en
        see   inf to go 1s past   sick that gen
        «I went to see that sick (man).»

Such extraposition can not occur with possessive genitives:

(19)   *txakurr - a ikhus - ten dut gizon - a - ren
         dog   the see   asp 1s-3s man   the gen
        «I see the man's dog.»

If these remarks on word-order are correct, they further weaken the theory that TO-GEN and ordinary genitivization are one and the same. My conclusion, which may not be widely accepted, is that TO-GEN can not be accounted for by juggling tree diagrams so that ordinary genitivization applies automatically tc TO's in infinitive clauses (but fails to affect IS's). A separate rule seems necessary.

So far all we have accomplished is an approximate formal statement of TO-GEN. We have not explained why such a rule might be natural in the light of other syntactic phenomena, why it does not apply to IS's, nor why it is restricted to the northern dialects.

The best approach to TO-GEN may well be a functional one; namely, by examining the consequences of the rule for disambiguating surface structures. In this view, the important thing about the genitive suffix introduced by TO-GEN is that it contrasts with zero, which the TO would otherwise have as case suffix.

Before pursuing this, we must briefly discuss some basic facts of nominal morphology. For definite nouns we have the following ergative and absolute case forms: erg. sg. *-ak,* erg. pl. *-ek,* abs. sg. *-a,* abs. pl. *-ak* (we will not bother with further morpheme breaks here). Note in particular that *-ak* is ambiguous. For pronouns, demonstratives, and most indefinite nouns, this homophony is avoided by various means.

In main clauses, and others with finite verbs (i.e. those with obligatory pronominal marking), the possible ambiguities are rather limited. If there is both an ergative singular noun and a plural absolutive noun, we have ambiguity:

(20)   gizon - ak   txakurr - ak ikhus - ten   ditu
        man   dog   see   asp 3s-3p
        «The man sees the dogs.»
        «The dog sees the men.»

Word order tends to be SOV, but this is not rigid (for example, focussed NP's are moved in front of the verb complex, whatever their case). So if the verb is not incompatible with one of the NP's as TS or TO there is ambiguity.

Suppose that only one overt NP occurs in a sentence and it has *-ak*. If both TS and TO are third person elements, we have the following possibilities:

(21) txakurr - ak   ikhus - ten   du
      dog   see   asp   3s-3s
     «The dog sees him.»

(22) txakurr - ak   ikhus - ten   ditu
                                   3s-3p
     «The dog sees them.»
     «He sees the dogs.»

(23) txakurr - ak   ikhus - ten   dituzte
                                   3p-3p
     «They see the dogs.»

Note that it is the auxiliary which distinguishes (21) and (23) from (22), though it fails to disambiguate (22). In the first example, the auxiliary indicates singular TO, so *txakurr-ak* can not be absolutive plural; hence it is ergative singular. By similar reasoning we can deduce that *txakurr-ak* is absolutive plural in (23). With (22), we can at least narrow the meaning down to two candidates. Furthermore, if the covert TS or TO is other than third person, there is no ambiguity at all:

(24) txakurr - ak   ikhus - ten   nau
      dog   see   asp   3s-1s
     «The dog sees me.»

(25) txakurr - ak   ikhus - ten   ditut
                                   1s-3p
     «I see the dogs.»

Because of the pronominal inflections of the auxiliary (or the finite verb in the case of the synthetic conjugation), many potential ambiguities are avoided. Without these pronominal inflections the situation would be much worse. But the infinitive clauses do not have such inflections, so (21-23) would all be collapsed as (26) if TO-GEN did not apply:

(26)   txakurr - ak   ikhus - te -
         dog   see inf
«(X's) seeing the dogs»
«the dog's seeing (X)»

Even (24-25) and other forms with first or second person TS's or
TO's could appear as (26), unless independent pronouns were added.
We would have all the ambiguities possible in main clauses, plus
several new possibilities of confusion.

Of course, context would clear up many sentences; in (27), for
example, there would be no problem:

(27)   *gizon - ak   ez ikhus - te - ko   ba - noa   mendi - rat
          man   not see   inf for go 1s   mtn   to
«I am going to the mountain(s) so as not to see the men.»

Here it is obvious that EQUI-NP DELETION has removed the
first person pronoun in the infinitive clause, which otherwise could
be overt. The -ak of gizon-ak could only be absolutive plural, so
gizon-ak is the TO. If it were the TS (ergative singular), we would
get a subjunctive clause:

(28)   gizon - ak   ez   nezan   ikhus, ...
          man   erg.sg not   3s-1s subj.   see
«so that the man will not see me, ...»

Therefore, if (27) were grammatical (in a dialect where TO-GEN did
not take place), it would be unambiguous.

In this hypothetical version of the Labourdin dialect without
TO-GEN, there would be many other sentences not so easily
disambiguated. For example:

(29)   txakurr - ak   ikhus - te - a   on - a da
          dog   see   inf the good the is 3s
«It is good for (X) to see the dogs.»
«It is good for the dog to see (X).»

Furthermore, there would be sentences which could finally be
disambiguated, but only after processing the entire sentence. The
infinitive clause itself would not be clear until the main clause was
interpreted. In a complex sentence this could lead to processing
difficulties.

We can now contrast this hypothetical version of Labourdin with the actually attested system. (26) can only mean «the dog's seeing (X)»; (27) is replaced by the grammatical *gizon-en ez ikhus-te-ko...* (with genitive plural *-en*); (29) can mean only «It is good for the dog to see (X)»; and many infinitives could be immediately interpreted instead of waiting for the entire sentence to be analyzed. There are still some ambiguities in infinitive clauses not found in main clauses, but they are relatively minor. There is even one bonus: a construction which is ambiguous in main clauses but disambiguated in infinitives. Contrast (20) with (30-31):

(30) gizon - ak   txakurr - en   ikhus - te -
     man   erg.sg   dog   gen.pl   see   inf
     «the man's seeing the dogs»

(31) txakurr - ak   gizon - en   ikhus - te -
        erg.sg   gen.pl
     «the dog's seeing the men»

In (31) I have reversed the relative order of the two NP's to avoid the appearance of a possessive genitive:

(32) gizon - en   txakurr - ak   ikhus - te -
       gen.pl   erg.sg
     «the men's dog's seeing (X)»

In short, TO-GEN permits a reduction in the number of possible ambiguities in infinitive clauses. The number of remaining ambiguities is not much different from that of main clauses. In particular, any overt NP con be unambiguously interpreted; with a transitive verb *-ak* is always ergative singular, *-en* absolutive plural (converted into genitive plural), etc.

The functional approach adopted here helps explain why IS's are not genitivized. In intransitive clauses there is no possible confusion between ergative singular and absolutive plural *-ak,* since only the latter is possible by definition. TO-GEN seems to apply only when it is genuinely necessary to resolve ambiguities. In intransitive infinitive clauses there is no such need and the rule does not apply.

We may even be able to partly explain the dialectal distribution of TO-GEN on functional grounds, though this is more difficult. It is true that the southern dialects also have the same marker *-ak* for ergative singular and absolutive plural. In fact, *-ak* is also the suffix for ergative plural (in the northern dialects this is *-ek*). So we

might expect even more potential ambiguities in the south, hence a greater need for something like TO-GEN.

In fact, however, some conservative subdialects of the southern region retain a pitch-accent system which is capable of distinguishing ergative singular -ak from the other two (e.g. *gizon-ák, gizón-ak*). It is likely that this pitch-accent system was once more widespread and has been eroded through contact with Spanish, which has a different type of stress. In the conservative subdialects, many otherwise possible ambiguities in infinitive clauses can be resolved by the pitch-accent pattern. In the other dialects substantial ambiguities are probably found in these clauses, but the prior exist-ence of the pitch-accent system helps explain the lack of TO-GEN historically.

So far as I have been able to determine, the Labourdin dialect does not have such a pitch-accent system capable of discriminating the two -*ak*'s (ergative singular and absolutive plural). A few studies of the dialect have indicated stress in transcriptions, but there appears to be wide variation within the dialect area. The evidence does not suggest that pitch or stress play a systematic role in the morphology of the dialect. If it can be shown that pitch or stress can distinguish the two -*ak*'s, this fact will force major revisions in the conclusions of this paper. However, Lafitte says this (5):

> En Basque, les mots pris isolément n'ont pas d'accent bien caractérisé, sauf en souletin: ils sont *isotones*, c'est-à-dire que leurs syllabes ont sensiblement la même valeur.

In Souletin, there appears to be a stress (rather than pitch-accent) system much more prominent and systematic than anything which has turned up in Labourdin. However, Larrasquet's transcriptions show that the two -*ak*'s are not distinguished by stress in Souletin. Examples: *ezkáatz-ak* (no gloss); *ssohú-k* (from underlying **ssohó-ak*), «meadow» (6). These can be either ergative singular or absolutive plural.

We now turn to some restrictions on TO-GEN in Labourdin not previously mentioned. The first is that TO-GEN fails when the infini-tive is followed by locative -*a-n* or comitative -*a-rekin*. (Actually, the infinitive also has a locative in -*n* without the definite suffix, and this other locative does require TO-GEN.) This situation is true at

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(5) Lafitte (1962), p. 17.
(6) Larrasquet (1934), pp. 57-59.

least of the older literary works, according to Lafitte, who does not say whether it still applies in modern written and spoken Basque. His examples:

(33) hura ikhus - te - a - n
  that   see   inf the loc
  «(in) seeing that one»

(34) hura ikhus - te - a - rekin
  «(with) seeing that one»

The common denominator of these constructions which distinguishes them from other infinitive clauses (including those with the other locative -n) is that they are used as adverbial clauses («Seeing that one, I ran away»). The two are distinguished in that the locative indicates a moment or fixed period, the comitative a more durative situation.

It is not entirely clear why this exception occurs (and we will see later that TO-GEN does apply to these constructions in Souletin). Perhaps it is due to analogy with other types of adverbial clause, which do not have TO-GEN. We could explain the case marking in (33) and (34) as due to the influence of semantically (rather than formally) similar clauses.

Temporal adverbials can be formed by adding -nean, analyzable as relative -n- plus locative -(e)a-n, to a main-like verbal complex:

(35) txakurr - a   hil - tzen   dut
   dog   the   kill   asp   1s-3s
  «I am killing the dog.»

(36) txakurr - a   hil - tzen   duta - nean
   dog   the   kill   asp   1s-3s   when
  «when I am killing the dog»

Another important type of adverbial clause has the perfective participle, often with instrumental -(e)z or partitive -(r)ik:

(37) palma   adar   batzuk   har - tu - rik
  palm   branch   some   take perf part
  «taking some palm branches, ...»

(38) aita - k   gauza   hori   erran - ez   gero-z
  father erg   thing   that   say   inst   after
  «after father said that thing, ...»

Since (36-38) are not infinitive constructions, TO-GEN does not apply, and the TO's *(txakurr-a, palma adar batzuk, gauza hori)* are in the absolute (zero) case. It seems likely that the failure of TO-GEN in (33-34) may be due to analogy from these constructions.

A second restriction on TO-GEN is that it may fail when the TO is, to quote Lafitte, «notablement éloigné de son verbe». This is clearly a low-level stylistic feature without grammatical importance. The distance between TO and infinitive does not seem to prevent Axular from genitivizing it —see (17). Perhaps more important than mere distance would be position of the TO before another NP, such as a dative NP. Since genitivization would be confusing (TO-GEN or possessive genitive?), for some speakers and writers TO-GEN might be blocked here.

The third restriction can also be disposed of easily. Many combinations of verb and TO have in time become frozen idiomatic constructions. The noun is typically unmarked for definiteness, may be restricted in word-order to position directly before the verb, and avoids such transformational rules as partitivization in negative contexts. In extreme cases we could reanalyze these constructions as compound verbs (e.g. *hitz-eman*, «promise», originally «give word»). So it is no surprise to learn that these frozen TO's may fail to undergo TO-GEN.

On the other hand, there are some cases where we might expect TO-GEN to fail but where we find that it does apply; namely, to IS's and TS's:

(39) gizon - a - ren   egi - te - a
      man   the gen   do   inf the
      «the man's action»

(40) gizon - a - ren   ji - te - a
      man   the gen come inf the
      «the man's coming»

We can also get TO-GEN in infinitive clauses with *-a-n* or *-a-re-kin*, which usually do not permit TO-GEN as we have just seen:

(41) liburu - a - ren   has - te - a - n
      book   the gen   begin inf the loc
      «in the beginning of the book»

Actually, however, these are not ordinary infinitive clauses, and it is not TO-GEN which is at work. The «infinitives» are parallel

to English derived nominals (refusal, arrival, permission) as opposed
to productively formed nominalizations (refusing, arriving, permit-
ting). Lafitte puts it this way: «ces infinitifs doivent être pris comme
noms». Unfortunately, the ordinary infinitive and derived nominal
are homophonous in Basque more often than in English. In fact,
the unexpected genitivization in (39-41) is the best diagnostic test
for distinguishing the two types. So we are not compelled to extend
TO-GEN to TS-GEN and IS-GEN.

   We now turn to other types of non-finite complement construc-
tions and see whether TO-GEN applies to them, as it does to infin-
itive clauses. One type is based on what I have called the perfective
participle, with suffix *-tu-*, *-i-*, or *-∅*. Depending on the construction,
the participle may lack further suffixation, or may add a nominal
suffix such as partitive *-(r)ik* or instrumental *-(e)z* (7).

   We have already seen that perfective participle clauses with
-(r)ik or *-(e)z* form adverbials —, as in (37) and (38). All clauses of
this type seem to resist TO-GEN, so the fact that TO-GEN does
not apply in (37) and (38) seems to be part of a more general
restriction.

   Without case suffixes, the perfective participle clause is usually
the complement of one of a set of elements including *nahi*, «desire»;
maite, «love»; and *behar*, «need». The participle clause is used
when the subject of the higher clause is coreferent with the subject
(TS or IS) of the complement clause; otherwise a subjunctive clause
is generally used.

   The usual constructions are these:

(42)   nahi   dut   etxe - rat   joan - ∅
       desire 1s-3s   house   the-to go   perf
       «I want to go to the house.»

(43)   nahi   ditut   gizon - ak   hil - ∅
       1s-3p   man   abs.pl kill   perf
       «I want to kill the men.»

   Note that in (43), the TO of the complement clause *(gizon-ak)*
does not undergo TO-GEN and remains in the absolutive case.
However, note also that in (42) the auxiliary of the main clause
(dut), transitive, is marked for first singular IS and third singular

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(7) On the perfective participle ("participe"), see Lafitte (1962), pp. 224-234.
For the radical ("infinitif radical") see pp. 206-211. Some of the following examples
and brief quotations are from these sections unless otherwise noted.

TO, while that of (43), *ditut*, is marked for first singular TS and third plural TO. What is going on here is that the TO of the complement clause has been raised as the TO of the main clause. So the failure of TO-GEN is explained by the fact that the underlying TO of the complement clause no longer belongs to that clause.

We can also get adverbs such as *nahi-z*, «wanting», or *beharr-ez*, «in need of», with instrumental *-(e)z*, and these can take the same type of complement:

(44) gizon - ak   hil   nahi - z
      man   abs.pl kill   desire   instr
      «wanting to kill the men»

Again *gizon-ak* is absolutive, not genitive. It is less easy to explain the failure of TO-GEN here, since there is no direct evidence that *gizon-ak* is raised as TO of *nahi-z*, which in this case is formally nominal rather than verbal. Still, there is no way to disprove an explanation using raising in (44) as well as in (43), so this in itself does not clearly show that TO-GEN fails in perfective participle forms.

Besides these uses, the perfective participle may also function as a passive participle, verbal noun, or active participle (the latter chiefly in older texts). The question of TO-GEN does not arise in the case of the passive participial function for obvious reasons, but in the other two cases it does.

To illustrate the active participial use Lafitte cites this example:

(45) O Jainko hoinbertze mirakulu egin - ∅ - a
      Oh God   so many   miracle do   perf the
      «Oh God, who has performed so many miracles»

It can be seen that TO-GEN does not apply here, since *hoinbertze mirakulu* is in the absolutive, not genitive, case. We can not explain this away by raising rules or the like.

As a sort of verbal noun or infinitive, the perfective participle can be used like this (8):

(46) ba - dakizu   zer   den   zure   tratu - a:
      emph know 2p   what   is   your   business the

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(8) In example (46) the form *sal* should not be analyzed as the radical of *saldu*, but rather as a form derived from the perfective participle *saldu* by backwards gapping of the perfective suffix *-du* under identity with the perfective suffix *-i* of *erosi*. We thus see that functional identity is sufficient for gapping to take place: phonological identity is not required.

```
mando - a   sal - ∅   eta   asto - a   eros - i
mule   the   sell   perf   and   donkey   the   buy   perf
```
«You know what your business is: selling mule(s) and buying donkey(s).»

Again we see that TO-GEN fails in this construction. In other cases, genitivization does take place with perfective participles used as nominalizations, but once again we are dealing with derived nominals, and the genitivization may affect underlying TS's and IS's as well as TO's:

(47)   orhoit   ene   erran - ∅ - ez
        remember   my   say   perf   instr

«Remember what I say» (lit. «my said»)

Sentences (45-46) demonstrate that TO-GEN just does not apply in perfective participle clauses. Some of the previous examples, such as (37-38) and (42-44), could possibly be accounted for as special exceptions. However, (45-56) can not be explained away in this manner, and so there must be a restriction on TO-GEN that it can not apply in perfective participle clauses.

There is a third non-finite clause type alongside infinitive and participle constructions; this one has a suffixless verb root (radical). Among its various uses, we may mention that it is used as complement of verbs meaning «fear», and in assorted adverbial and purpose clauses. We will not bother to go into detail about this clause type. Suffice it to say that it agrees with the participle construction in that TO-GEN does not apply:

(48)   mando - a   sal   eta   asto - a   eros
        mule   the   sell   and   donkey   the   buy
        «to sell mule(s) and buy donkey(s)»

In the Labourdin dialect, we conclude, there is a major difference between infinitive clauses and the other two non-finite clauses, inasmuch as TO-GEN affects only infinitive clauses. I do not claim to have found a clear functional explanation for this discrepancy. Lafitte says that in this dialect the perfective participle «est considéré plutôt comme un verbe». However, it is hardly a verb in an utterance like (45). If it could be shown that perfective participle and radical clauses could be derived from finite clauses by a late rule eliminating the auxiliary, there would be no problem. However, I am not prepared to make such a claim with the evidence available to me at this time.

So far we have been specifically discussing the Labourdin dialect,
and presumably most of the rules affecting TO-GEN are much the
same in most of the Low Navarrese dialect area. We now turn to the
Souletin dialect to the east, which presents several new twists. The
data available to me are from Gèze's grammar (1875), and Professor
Haritschelhar's edition of the poetry of Etchahun (1970). These data
are by no means satisfactory for a thorough syntactic study, but at
least give us an idea of the basic constructions found in Souletin (9).

The basic TO-GEN rule seems to be the same, inasmuch as only
TO's can be genitivized in infinitive clauses (unless the infinitive is
really a derived nominal). However, TO-GEN is not blocked in the
case of infinitives with locative *-a-n* or comitative *-a-reki* (corre-
sponding to Lab. *-a-rekin*).

Contrast these sentences with (33-34):

(49)   ha - ren   ikhous - ti - a - n
        that gen   see   inf the loc
        «(in) seeing that one»

(50)   ha - ren   ikhous - ti - a - reki
                                  comit
        «(with) seeing that one»

There seem to be no specific constraints on TO-GEN related
to the type of suffix added to the infinitive. However, at least in
Etchahun's poems, the TO-GEN rule seems to be optional no matter
what suffix occurs. Perhaps there are external explanations for the
failure of the TO-GEN rule in cases where we would expect it to
apply: the presence of frozen TO plus verb constructions, for
example, or poetic license in view of metrical considerations. At any
rate, TO-GEN does seem usual in infinitive constructions, and its
failure irregular.

The most striking difference between Labourdin and Souletin
is in the treatment of the other non-finite complement clauses. As
we have seen, in Labourdin neither the perfective participle nor the
radical clause permits TO-GEN. However, in Souletin this is perfectly
possible, and seems to be about as regular as in infinitive clauses,
except when there are special factors blocking TO-GEN.

As in Labourdin, TO-GEN usually fails in perfective participle
complements of *nahi*, «desire», etc., because the TO is raised into

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(9) From Gèze I have taken sentences (49-50) and (54), the latter in modi-
fied form. The other Souletin examples are from Etchahun.

the next clause up. However, when *nahi* is not part of a verbal complex, but rather is treated as a noun in an adverbial (usually with instrumental -*z*), there is no clause into which the TO can be raised. It remains part of the complement clause subordinated to *nahi,* and the examples I have show that TO-GEN takes place:

(51) ha - ren   hatçaman - Ø   nahi - z
      that   gen   arrest   perf desire instr
      «wanting to arrest that one»

The element *lotsa,* «fear», behaves similarly to *nahi* in many respects, except that its complement is the radical verb. The example I have where *lotsa-* occurs as an adverb with the instrumental suffix shows the same TO-GEN as in (51):

(52) eta   khorpitz - a - ren   gal   lotsa - z
      and   life   the   gen   lose fear   instr
      «and fearful of losing (his) life»

There is one example from Etchahun where TO-GEN fails in an adverbial clause like (51), perhaps because of metrics. Since TO-GEN occasionally fails even in infinitive clauses in Etchahun's poetry, this is not surprising.

The limited data suggest that there may be a real restriction on TO-GEN in perfective participle clauses in adverbial clauses, where the participle has one of the nominal suffixes -*(r)ik* (partitive) or -*(e)z* (locative):

(53) hura   kita - tü - rik
      that   leave perf part
      «having left that one»

(54) zu   ikhous - i - z   gero-z
      you   see   perf instr after
      «after seeing you»

In both sentences, and in the two or three others I have found of this construction, the TO (*hura, zu*) is in the absolutive, not genitive, case.

I do not have sufficient data to explore all the ramifications of TO-GEN and of its conditioned failures in Souletin. Nor will I attempt the same sorts of functional «explanations» for the pecu-

liarities of TO-GEN for this dialect as I have done for Labourdin, except to make one point.

This is that Souletin appears to show a logically expectable extension of the Labourdin TO-GEN rule by applying it to all types of non-finite clauses rather than just to infinitive clauses. The restriction to infinitive clauses in Labourdin is one of the most difficult points to account for functionally, since the same sorts of potential ambiguities in case marking which TO-GEN resolves in infinitive clauses can also occur in perfective participle and radical clauses. So it is comforting to find that in Souletin the rule applies to all these non-finite clauses.

A topic which I have not explored is the historical development of the syntactic patterns I have described. It is difficult to say whether Proto-Basque may have had some form of TO-GEN, and I have no evidence whatever bearing on this. It would not be too surprising to me if it turned out to be an innovation in the north. In this case we would be able to explain it as a sort of therapeutic development designed to disambiguate previously homophonous constructions.

As to whether Labourdin or Souletin represents the earliest type of TO-GEN more faithfully, I would guess offhand that Labourdin does. Labourdin restricts the rule to infinitive clauses, while Souletin has a more general rule affecting all non-finite complements. It would seem more plausible to think of an originally limited rule becoming more general, rather than a general rule becoming arbitrarily restricted for unknown reasons.

I will close by inviting explanations of TO-GEN other than the functional one I have relied on, and by the usual appeal for more data, especially on the Souletin dialect.

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Nominative - Ergative Syncretism

in Basque [1]

Willian H. Jacobsen, Jr.

1. Like many other languages Basque has a pattern of inflection by suffixation of nouns, and other noun-like words such as adjectives, pronouns, and demonstratives, for a number of categories of case. The two cases that will primarily concern us in this paper are the nominative and the ergative (2). Using the terms *subject* and *object* in their traditional semantically defined ways, we may say that the nominative case is used for the subject of an intransitive verb and for the object of a transitive verb, while the ergative case is used for the subject of a transitive verb (3).

(2) The ergative is usually called the *active* case in Basque grammars; other names are *agent* and *transitive* case. The nominative has also been called the *inactive, passive, patient, intransitive,* and *absolutive* case.

(3) There has been much discussion of the appropriate definition of the terms *subject* and *object*. From the point of view of the internally motivated study of Basque syntax I am of the opinion that the subject is best said to be expressed by the word in the nominative case (and by the corresponding verb affix). The terms *agent* and *patient* (or *goal*) are sometimes introduced to label semantic or deep-level relationships to the verb, as opposed to the surface-level units of subject and object; one could then say that in Basque the subject of a transitive verb expresses its patient. I have discussed some of these matters in my paper "The Analog of the Passive Transformation in Ergative-Type Languages" presented to the 44th Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of America on December 29, 1969.

A surprising thing about the shapes of the endings for these cases
in many dialects is that at least the nominative plural and some
number categories of ergative cases are not always differentiated
in form, and furthermore the number categories within the ergative
are not always distinguished formally from each other. This would
seem at first blush to cause some uncertainties, especially as to
whether a given noun is the subject or the object of a transitive
verb, but it is the task of this paper to elucidate firstly the historical
reasons for these patterns of syncretism among the several case-number
categories, and secondly some syntactic factors which permit the
language to function in spite of them. In what follows I will be
hewing resolutely to surface phenomena and asking what the evidence
is for distinguishing among these surface-structure cases, rather than
looking much into deeper level structures that they may manifest.
Our discussion will therefore lead us, on the one hand, into a
consideration of phonological matters of vowel contraction, vowel
harmony, and the thorny question of the Basque accent, and on the
other hand, into syntactic matters such as focus and aspects of word
order.

This Basque syncretism of nominative and ergative forms might
be compared to the identity of nominative and accusative forms of
neuter gender nouns found in the older Indo-European languages, but
differs from this by lacking the semantic correlation of inanimateness
that makes these neuter nouns unlikely candidates for being subjects
of transitive verbs.

2. The presumed pattern of endings for the nominative and
ergative forms in an earlier Pre-Basque, or perhaps Proto-Basque,
stage is exemplified by the following forms (4):

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	*mendi	*mendia	*mendiak	'mountain'
Erg.	*mendik	*mendiak	*mendiagek	
Nom.	*gizon	*gizona	*gizonak	'man'
Erg.	*gizonek	*gizonak	*gizonagek	

(4) Cf. René Lafon, "Expression de l'auteur de l'action en basque", Bulletin
de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 55 (1960), pp. 196-198; H. Gavel, Grammaire
basque, Bayonne, 1929, pp. 53-54. There are also plausible theories of a much
more archaic system of noun inflection, which would have lacked contrasts of
definiteness and number: Gavel, op. cit., pp. 43-47, sec. 62; Lafon, op. cit.,
pp. 193-195.

The two nouns cited, *mendi* 'mountain' and *gizon* 'man', exemplify respectively nouns whose stems end in vowels and in consonants. There are three categories for each of the cases. On the left are shown the indeterminate forms, which tend to be used in syntactically restricted environments, are indefinite, and are not marked for number. There is no ending for the nominative here, and the ending for the ergative is just *-k*, with automatic insertion of an *-e-* when the stem ends in a consonant, a phenomenon occurring also with other case endings. The other columns show the numerically differentiated singular and plural categories. These are definite categories, so marked by the definite suffix *-a*. This is followed by a *-k* to mark the ergative, and by a different *-k* to give the homophonous nominative plural forms (insofar as there was no accentual difference between these).

The ergative plural ending was constructed by adding the *-k* of the ergative after the nominative plural ending, again with automatic insertion of the buffer vowel *-e-*. This ending shows us that the *-k* of the nominative plural comes from an older *-g by a regular process of word-final unvoicing of stops; the same is likely to be true of the ergative *-k*, but since this is never followed by another suffix, this cannot be established. At this stage the consonant of the nominative plural ending would have been morphophonemically still a *-g; this would have occurred before yet other case endings as a plural marker, as in the dative plural ending *-agi. It is in fact probable that the nominative plural ending was once *-aga and is to be equated with the *-aga of numerous place names in the originally Basque-speaking area (5). It will be seen that whereas today *-k* is a mark specifically of the nominative plural, in this original system the corresponding ending was a marker of plural number, not of case, and the nominative case was marked throughout by a zero ending.

As the discussion proceeds, square diagrams will be presented to summarize the several patterns of syncretism of what we may call the K-endings: the nominative plural and the three ergative numbers. These will be arranged as shown by the abbreviations in the

(5) Cf. Luis Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, San Sebastián, 1961, p. 238, sec. 12.10 end and fn. 28; Luis Michelena, Apellidos vascos, San Sebastián, 1953, pp. 34-35, no. 10; Lafon, op. cit., p. 197 (also mentioning other possible explanations for the place-name suffix); H. Gavel, "Eléments de phonétique basque", Revista Internacional de los Estudios Vascos 12 (1921), p. 339.

following square: ergative singular and nominative plural above,
and ergative indeterminate and ergative plural below.

ES	NP
EI	EP

This Pre-Basque system can hence be diagrammed as follows:

*-ak	
*-(e)k	*-agek

For dialects where there is no difference between consonant-stems
and vowel-stems in the distinctions made, later diagrams will continue
to combine in the same square the two forms of the ergative indeter-
minate ending. However, after stems ending in vowels other than *a*
(and in certain regions *e*), the ergative indeterminate form will always
be overtly different from the rest, which gives these vowel-stems a
more differentiated paradigm than that of the consonant-stems in
certain areas; such cases will be separately diagrammed. Stems ending
in *a* will be separately treated (sec. 10).

3.   An important sound change that has given a less differentiated
pattern of endings than that of Pre-Basque applies to the ergative

plural ending. Here as elsewhere an intervocalic *g has been lost (6), but the two vowels thus brought together have contracted with different results in two large geographical areas, as is also true of certain other phonologically parallel forms (7). The resulting vowel is *a* in the Western area, but *e* in the Eastern area. Thus *-agek* gave Western -ak, Eastern -ek (8). The paradigm of consonant-stem nouns in the Western dialects is the following:
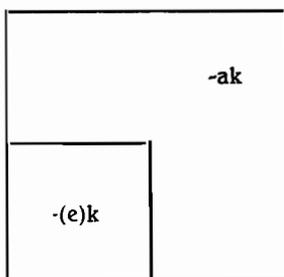
	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	gizon	gizona	gizonak	'man'
Erg.	gizonek	gizonak	gizonak	

(6) Cf. Gavel, "Eléments de phonétique basque", pp. 338-341, sec. 157; Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 226-227, sec. 12.3. On the final unvoicing of this *g, Gavel, op. cit., p. 362, sec. 166; Michelena, op. cit., pp. 235-238, sec. 12.10. A very comparable alternation of final *k* with non-final zero is seen in forms containing the second person singular masculine suffix, such as *dik* < *diga* 'he has it for you (masc.)' vs. *diat* < *digada* 'I have it for you (masc.)' or *duk* < *duga* 'you (masc.) have it' vs. the relative *duan* < *dugan* 'which you (masc.) have'; cf. also Gavel, op. cit., pp. 341-343. Some older scholars, including Azkue and Campión, assumed an intervocalic *-k-* in the ergative plural ending, thus *-akek;* cf. C. C. Uhlenbeck, "Contribution à une phonétique comparative des dialectes basques", Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques 4 (1910), pp. 105-107, sec. 18eps. In this they were undoubtedly influenced by the northern High Navarrese plural case forms with -k- (sec. 5). On the plausibility of *-g-, cf. also Lafon, "Expression de l'auteur de l'action en basque", p. 196. It is interesting to note that in a recent synchronic treatment of aspects of noun inflection, Karmele Rotaeche Amusategui and Jean Léonce Doneux, "Sur un point de morphologie nominale du basque", Fontes Linguae Vasconum 9 (1971), pp. 269-290, the authors, after toying with °k, turn to °g as the basic form of the plural morpheme, because of clear evidence that there is no general rule of loss of °k between vowels; see p. 283, sec. 7 and p. 286, sec. 9, rule 5.

(7) Such as *dan/den* < *daen* 'which is', *zan/zen* < *zaen* '(which) was'. Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, p. 117, sec. 5.6; Uhlenbeck, "Contribution à une phonétique comparative des dialectes basques", Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques 3 (1909), p. 501, sec. 8β. A problem is the lack of -a- in the Western area for the genitive plural suffix, which when contracted is -en < *-agen everywhere; perhaps, as de Rijk points out, the avoidance of syncretism with the locative singular -an is a factor. Lafon, though, "Expression de l'auteur de l'action en basque", p. 199, thinks of the change *-agek > *-agak in the ergative plural, the lowering of the vowel being conditioned by the surrounding velars.

(8) For the geographical distribution of the two reflexes, see, e.g., René Lafon, "Sur la place de l'aezcoan, du salazarais et du roncalais dans la classification des dialectes basques", Pirineos 11 (1955), pp. 109-133, esp. pp. 119, 121, 128; Luis Michelena, Sobre el pasado de la lengua vasca, San Sebastián, 1964, p. 34, sec. 1.12.

These dialects are all in Spain, and include Vizcayan, Guipúzcoan, and northern High Navarrese. We will see shortly that most of these dialects have additional accentually stigmatized distinctions in their spoken forms; here we are concerned either with their written forms or with those spoken Western dialects that may lack these accentual differences. Here the K-endings for the three definite categories, ergative singular, nominative plural, and ergative plural, are the same; thus the difference of vowel in these endings corresponds to the definite/indeterminate distinction:

4. The following is the complementary Eastern type paradigm:

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	gizon	gizona	gizonak	'man'
Erg.	gizonek	gizonak	gizonek	

This belongs to southern High Navarrese and other, primarily French, dialects: Labourdin (including the Baztán Valley of Spain), Low Navarrese (including the Aezcoa and Salazar Valleys of Spain), and Souletin (including the Roncal Valley of Spain). Here the ergative plural has come to sound like the ergative indeterminate on consonant stems. Within the plural, nominative is still distinguished from ergative, as it was in Pre-Basque. This is the pattern of endings that has been advocated by the Basque Academy for use in a standard written language (9). Most of these dialects seem not to have accentual

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(9) S. Garmendia, "Deklinazio", Euskera 13 (1968), pp. 151-161; Luis Villa-sante, La declinación del vasco literario común, Oñate, n.d., esp. pp. 97, 102.

differences making further discriminations among these catego-
ries (10); for those that do (described in sec. 6), this pattern would
apply only to their written forms. It may be thus diagrammed:

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(10) Schuchardt, in his study of the accent in the Labourdin dialect of Sare,
found no semantic correlation with placement of the accent: Hugo Schuchardt,
"Zur Kenntnis des Baskischen von Sara (Labourd)" (Abhandlungen der
preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse), Ber-
lin, 1922, pp. 1-39, see especially p. 6. See also the collection of words with variable
accents from Schuchardt's texts in E. Lewy, "Zur Betonung des Labourdinischen",
Studi Etruschi 12 (1938), pp. 351-356; this concludes (p. 355) that placement of
accent is primarily due to sentence rhythm. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca,
p. 382, fn. 6, refers to these works, but gives a misleading impression by saying
that Lewy, following Schuchardt, admits that other factors, such as the opposition
ergative singular *gizonák*/nominative plural *gizónak* also come into account (this
refers to Lewy, p. 355 end). Lewy has perhaps failed to make clear that such
forms do not occur either in these texts or in Schuchardt's discussion of this
dialect, and in the passage in question (p. 8) Schuchardt is actually citing words
from Larramendi's grammar of 1729, pointing out, quite appropriately, the
congruence with the accentual situation described by Azkue. These forms are thus
Guipúzcoan (or Vizcayan), not Labourdin. Gavel, "Eléments de phonétique bas-
que", p. 112 of sec. 53, mentions the lack of accent in Labourdin and Low
Navarrese, as contrasted with Souletin, and raises the question of whether this
is original or secondary (mentioning the importance of Leiçarraga's accented texts
for this question). There is also no evidence of features of stress or other accent
correlated with individual words in the "Bakersfield Basque" dialect described
by Wilbur, which is clearly of this general type; see Terence H. Wilbur, "The
Phonemes of the Basque of Bakersfield, California", Anthropological Linguistics
3:8 (1961), pp. 1-12, esp. pp. 10-11, sec. 3. A recent study of the accents in
texts in Labourdin of Saint-Jean-de-Luz written around 1700 by Pierre d'Urte,
while it seems to leave open the possibility of accent being phonologically
distinctive, fails to show any accentual stigmatization of the plural-number category
such as we find in the Western accented type (sec. 7) and certainly does not
exhibit the Souletin-type stressing of the ergative plural ending (sec. 6): Pierre
Lafitte, "L'accentuation labourdine au XVIIᵉ siècle selon l'*Etórkia* de Pierre
d'Urte", Gure Herria 39 (1967), pp. 232-234. No mention is made of any
phonologically distinctive accent in the dialect of Maya of the Baztán Valley in
Geneviève N'Diaye, Structure du dialecte basque de Maya (Janua Linguarum,
Series Practica, 86), The Hague-Paris, 1970. A morphologically distinctive accent
was also found to be lacking farther east in the Salazar Valley, according to
Luis Michelena, "Notas fonológicas sobre el salacenco", Anuario del Seminario
de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo" 1 (1967), pp. 163-177; see p. 165, sec. 2 end;
Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 398-399, sec. 20.14. Thus it seems that
Holmer has extrapolated beyond his evidence in suggesting that his Type 2 or
Guipúzcoan type accentuation probably belongs also to most French dialects,
including Souletin and others. Although he did have information about Souletin,
which does indeed have an accent, our further discussion will make clear that
this can hardly be grouped with the Western type accent; cf. Nils M. Holmer,
El idioma vasco hablado, San Sebastián, 1964, p. 1, fn. 2 and 3; pp. 20-21, sec. 15.

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│                             │
│            -ak              │
│                             │
├─────────────────────────────┤
│                             │
│            -ek              │
│                             │
└─────────────────────────────┘
```

The vowel-stems, however, continue the distinctions of Pre-Basque:

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│                             │
│            -ak              │
│                             │
├──────────────┬──────────────┤
│              │              │
│     -k       │     -ek      │
│              │              │
└──────────────┴──────────────┘
```

5.   There exists also a geographically limited dialect area within the northern High Navarrese area which has created analogically a new ergative plural ending *-akek,* thus recovering the three-way distinction among the K-endings that was present in Pre-Basque (11):

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┌─────────────────────────────┐
│                             │
│            -ak              │
│                             │
├──────────────┬──────────────┤
│              │              │
│    -(e) k    │    -akek     │
│              │              │
└──────────────┴──────────────┘
```

(11) Cf. Resurrección María de Azkue, Morfología vasca, Bilbao, 1925, pp. 326-327, sec. 497, and. p. 328, sec. 398C; Gavel, "Eléments de phonétique basque", pp. 340-341; Lafon, "Expression de l'auteur de l'action en basque", p. 196.

6. The following is the pattern in spoken Souletin, the easternmost dialect:

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	gízun	gizúna	gizúnak	'man'
Erg.	gizúnek	gizúnak	gizunék	

Here there has developed a strong stress accent, which falls on the vowel that continues the penult of Pre-Basque. Thus the ergative plural form is distinguished by having stress on its final syllable, so that this variety also maintains in its spoken form the category distinctions of Pre-Basque (12).
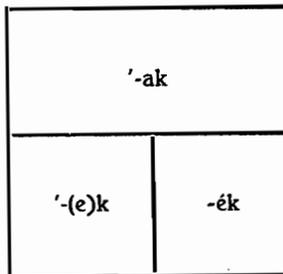
Essentially the same principle, with minor differences of detail,

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Other plural cases also show this -k-, such as dative plural -aki. These endings must have arisen by replacement of the *-g- by -k- on the analogy of the nominative plural. There are comparable analogical reformations with intervocalic -k- for the second person singular masculine suffix (cf. fn. 6), such as Low Navarrese dukan, Guipúzcoan dekan 'which you (masc.) have'.

(12) Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 392-394, 396-397, secs. 20.10-11, 20.13; pp. 214-215, 216-218, secs. 10-11, 13 of Luis Michelena, "A propos de l'accent basque", Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris 53 (1957-58), pp. 204-233; Gavel, "Eléments de phonétique basque", pp. 108-109, fn. 1; Lafon, "Expression de l'auteur de l'action en basque", pp. 196, 198; pp. 77, 79 of René Lafon, "Contribution à l'étude phonologique du parler basque de Larrau (Haute-Soule)", pp. 77-106 in Diego Catalán, ed., "Estructuralismo e historia", Miscelánea homenaje a André Martinet, vol. 2, Madrid, 1958. Basically the same system in the aspects that concern us is attested earlier from farther west in the 1571 Bible translation of Leiçarraga, a native of Briscous in northern Labourd; cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 399-402, secs. 20.15-17; Michelena, "A propos de l'accent basque", pp. 219-222, secs. 15-17.

applies to the neighboring moribund Roncalese dialect to the south in Spain (13).

7. Many spoken dialects within the Western area have accentual distinctions setting off primarily the plural forms from the others, thus introducing additional distinctions into the paradigm when spoken among those sharing a sufficiently similar dialect. Although this fact has been described many times, there have been differences of notations and analysis and indeed of opinions as to the distinctiveness of the Basque accent in this region (14). Part of

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(13) Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 394-397, secs. 20.12-13: "A propos de l'accent basque", pp. 215-218, secs. 12-13; Sobre el pasado de la lengua vasca, p. 47. The accent of this dialect tends to slip back from the penult to the antepenult; thus for 'man' it has ergative singular and nominative plural *gizonak* vs. ergative plural *gizonék*. On the accentuation of the common ancestor of Souletin and Roncalese, see Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 402-403, sec. 20.17; "A propos de l'accent basque", p. 222, sec. 17.

(14) For a bemused survey of the older literature on the Basque accent, see Schuchardt, "Zur Kenntnis des Baskischen von Sara (Labourd)", pp. 4-10. An excellent survey of descriptive facts about the accentual systems of various dialects is found in Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, chap. 20, pp. 379-403, and a theory of the occurrence of stress in older stages of the language, based primarily on the distribution of *h*, is presented in chap. 21, pp. 405-424. A more concise version of this same material was published in Michelena, "A propos de l'accent basque" (cf. fn. 12). A yet more abridged version of some of these ideas is contained in Luis Michelena's response, pp. 36-44, to N. Ormaetxea, "Leitza'ko Mintza-Doiñua", pp. 29-36, both published under the heading "Euskaltzaindian sartzerakoan Ormaetxea jaunak egindako itzaldia eta Mitxelena jaunaren erantzuna (Euskal azentuaz)", Euskera 3 (1958). In his writings Altube has been concerned to minimize the importance of accentuation as a property of individual words, trying to set forth, in an elaborate scheme, its connection with syntactic facts such as presupposition and focus. See Seber Altube, "El acento vasco (en la prosa y en el verso)", Euskera 13 (1932), pp. 1-329; also published separately, Bermeo, 1932. See especially chap. 2, pp. 24-36, and sec. 83, pp. 85-86, on plural accentuation of demonstratives and nouns; note also the comparative chart of the phonetic accentuation of ergative singular vs. nominative-ergative plural of *gizonak* as described by Zamarripa, Ormaechea, and Larramendi, doubtless intended to convey an impression of inconsistency among these authorities, p. 189, sec. 202 end. For a more concise exposition of these views, see Seber Altube, "Observaciones al tratado de 'Morfología vasca' de don R. M.ª de Azkue", Euskera 15 (1934), sec. 90, "El acento prosódico", pp. 186-213; also published separately, Bermeo, 1934. Doubtless this author's rejection of some of the findings of authors such as Azkue concerning the accent was due to genuine differences between their respective dialects; Azkue was from Lequeitio, Altube from Mondragón (perhaps the observations given below from Placencia de las Armas might be suggestive here). Holmer, in his studies of Basque dialects, has given especial importance to the accent, and has classified dialects into two types, Navarrese and Guipúzcoan, according to their accent patterns. Cf. Nils M. Holmer, El idioma

what has puzzled some observers has been the necessity of reconciling a fairly large amount of phonetic free variation in accentuation with the contrasts that are clearly present (15). It may thus be worthwhile to digress somewhat to consider the phonological analysis of this phenomenon, which apparently has not been studied or thought about as much as it deserves. There is little in the way of critical discussion of the appropriate units that should be set up to handle this, and no explicit account has been given of how the accent correlates with the various morphemes present in a word or sentence (16). We also lack detailed descriptions, even of the raw phonetics, for different dialects, among which there is clearly a considerable amount of variation in the accentuation patterns. I am far from being in a position to analyze the entire accentual system, and have only rather scattered, randomly encountered, and mostly hastily gathered personal observations to offer, but there may be some value to at least raising some questions and suggesting tentative analyses for the kinds of words under consideration.

There seem to have been at least two flaws in theoretical orientation that have inhibited many earlier investigators from acquiring an adequate perspective on this phenomenon. One, as would be ex-

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vasco hablado. Un estudio de dialectología euskérica, San Sebastián, 1964, pp. 1-2; pp. 20-21, sec. 15; pp. 26-28, sec. 24; pp. 36-41, sec. 40-49. For a brief statement in English, see Nils M. Holmer, "A Historic-Comparative Analysis of the Structure of the Basque Language", Fontes Linguae Vasconum 4 (1970), pp. 5-40, sec. 2, "The System of Stress", pp. 9-11. I find his assumption much too facile that his Navarrese, or Type 1, pattern is more archaic than the other type.

(15) Cf., for example, Gavel's reaction that it is contradictory of Ormaechea to describe a contrast of accentuation for *aria* correlating with meanings of 'thread' vs. 'sheep' and also to say that in Basque the words do not have a fixed accent so that the same word can be accented sometimes on one syllable and sometimes on another: "Eléments de phonétique basque", pp. 113-114, fn. 1, referring to Nicolás Ormaechea, "Acento vasco", Revue Internationale des Etudes Basques 9 (1918), pp. 1-15.

(16) Thus Rotaeche and Doneux, "Sur un point de morphologie nominale du Basque" (cf. fn. 6), which purports to describe part of the noun morphology of the spoken Vizcayan dialect of Ondárroa in a version of the generative phonology framework, avoids any mention of accentuation, even while considering the basic shape of the 'plural' morpheme. The fullest account of facts concerning how accentuation correlates with various morphological formations that I have encountered is still Resurrección María de Azkue, "Del acento tónico vasco en algunos de sus dialectos", Euskera 11 (1930), pp. 282-297, 12 (1931), pp. 3-50; also published separately, Bilbao, 1931. A very useful description also is found in Nils M. Holmer and Vania Abrahamson de Holmer, "Apuntes vizcaínos (I)", Anuario del Seminario de Filología Vasca "Julio de Urquijo" 2 (1968), sec. 9.1-9.23, "Sobre el acento", pp. 106-118.

pected, was the lack of a phonolcgical orientation, of a criterion of distinctiveness or relevance to be used in guiding phonetic investigations or in avoiding superfluous notations (17). The other, seemingly, was the assumption that, if Basque had an accent, it would be comparable to that of Castilian Spanish, in that most words of two or more syllables would bear an accent on one of them, and words of equal numbers of syllables could differ accentually only by this being placed on one versus another syllable.

Works making this latter assumption have transcribed the distinction that primarily concerns us in several differents ways, responding in part to dialectal differences. For the opposition ergative singular/nominative-ergative plural we thus find, using the word for 'man', *gizonák/gizónak* (18), *gizónak/gízonak* (19), and even *gizonák/gízonak* (20).

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(17) Note, for example, that T. Navarro Tomás, "Observaciones fonéticas sobre el vascuence de Guernica", pp. 48-56 in Tercer Congreso de Estudios Vascos, San Sebastián, 1923, in an admittedly preliminary phonetic study of tonal patterns, p. 56, measured the pitch on each syllable for five words, four of them bisyllabic. In all cases the pitch rises on successive syllables. However, all of these words are what I will be calling unmarked (or unaccented), so he has failed to register the presumed differences that would show up if a genuinely accented word were contrasted with them. Cf. also the proliferation of types of accents and symbols therefor suggested by Ormaetxea in his "Leitza'ko Mintza-Doiñua", contrasted with the advocacy of the necessity of a phonological orientation and the sparse notation employed by Michelena in his response (cf. fn. 14).

(18) Manuel de Larramendi, El impossible vencido. Arte de la Lengua Bascongada, Salamanca, 1729, pp. 6, 350-353. (For summary and discussion of Larramendi's system of accents, see Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 386-388, sec. 20.5-6; "A propos de l'accent basque", pp. 209-211, secs. 5-6.) Arturo Campión, Gramática de los cuatro dialectos literarios de la lengua euskara, Tolosa, 1884, p. 197. This pattern also occurs in a printed religious text of 1862 in the Vizcayan dialect of Salinas de Léniz, as seen in the passage reproduced in Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, p. 384, fn. 10.

(19) Holmer, El idioma vasco hablado, pp. 37-38, sec. 41 (this applies to his "Type 2" dialect); Holmer and Holmer, "Apuntes vizcaínos (I)", pp. 110-114, sec. 9.9-9.14. Basically the same pattern seems to turn up in Dorita Lochak, "Basque Phonemics", Anthropological Linguistics 2:3 (1960), pp. 12-31. Although this source does not discuss the correlation of accent with morphology, words such as the following seem to attest to the "unmarked" or singular type of accentuation: *gisóna* 'the man', *txakúrra* 'the dog', *egúna* 'the day', *mutílla* 'the boy', also *neská* 'the girl', *urá* 'that one', *tellatúwa* 'the roof', *kankallúwa* 'the tramp'. Clearly marked, or plural, forms are not numerous, but these probably include *mútikwak* 'children', *óyek* 'those', *xéndiya* 'the people', *tókira* '[to] a place'. This source recognizes both primary and secondary stresses (cf. p. 18, sec. 4.0), but gives no examples of contrast between them; certain instances of interchange make it seem unlikely that they should be distinguished: *motòsikletá ~ motósikletà* 'the motorcycle', *bastèrriyán ~ bastérriyàn ~ bastérriyan* 'in a corner', *bàñogayó ~ báñogayò* 'more than' (cf. the similar conclusion of Schuchardt, "Zur Kenntnis des Baskischen von

In order to discuss the problem more adequately, let us consider at first one particular dialect, the Vizcayan one of the older generation at Guernica (21). This is clearly of the type that is represented by the second pair of accented words just given. When one listens to the total pitch pattern more attentively —and differential pitch, rather than stress, is the primary phonetic manifestation of this accent, as has been widely maintained (22)—, one notes that the two accent marks do not really stand for the same thing. That of the plural, *gísonak,* correlates with a high pitch on the indicated syllable, followed by an inmediate fall to a noticeably lower one on the remaining syllables of the word. However, that of the singular, *gisónak,* usually rising from the pitch of the first syllable, remains high on the following one. This suggests, as a first approximation, recognizing two kinds of accents, a sustained as opposed to a falling one, that might be indicated as: *gisónak/gìsonak* (23).

Going a step further, comparison of forms with the sustained accent reveals a certain amount of free variation. For example, depending in part on what precedes, the first syllable of such a word may already be as high in pitch as the next one. Although the rise in pitch tends to set in on the second syllable, on longer words this may be delayed until later in the word. On two-syllable words, the rise is usually onto the second syllable. On some noun phrases

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Sara (Labourd)", p. 6). In other ways this analysis gives the impression of setting up units that may not really be linguistically distinctive: whereas the four phonemic pitch lines, correlating with intonation contours (p. 16, sec. 3.0), seem plausible enough, the distinction among three kinds of juncture based on duration of pause (p. 12, sec. 1) fails to convince.

(20) Isaac Lopez Mendizabal, La lengua vasca, 2nd ed., Buenos Aires, 1949, p. 13.

(21) I am indebted to José Basterrechea for cooperation in observations on his speech during July and August, 1972. I have also profited from teaching materials distributed by him during the 1972 Summer Session, which describe in considerable detail the intonational patterns of words and sentences, displaying them by a graphic notation in terms of four tone levels.

(22) For example, by Ormaechea, "Acento vasco", especially pp. 3-8. Cf. the discussion in Schuchardt, "Zur Kenntnis des Baskischen von Sara (Labourd)", pp. 8-10.

(23) The transcription of the forms cited for spoken dialects (except where explicitly showing the orthography of other sources) is intended to be a phonemic one, but expressing the phonemes by means of the conventions of usual Basque orthography, including several digraphs. This will occasionally give rise to nonstandard spellings. In writing *gisonak* with an -s- I am noting the fact that most Vizcayan and some Guipúzcoan dialects lack the contrast s/z of more easterly dialects, the merged sibilant sounding usually more like the s of other dialects. (Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 282-283, sec. 14.2.)

consisting of more than one word, such as noun followed by de-
monstrative, the pitch pattern seems often to be the same as on single
words of the same length. Thus the exact location of this sustained
pitch is somewhat hard to determine; it depends partly on the length
of the word, but its exact point of onset also seems not to be signi-
ficant, and the differences in pitch in question are after all fairly
small (24). On the other hand, the location in the word of the falling
pitch is clearly localized and does not vary. Such facts lead one to
the conclusion that the words with sustained pitch actually have
no accent on them at all, that what is heard is a result of general
rules of pronunciation, controlled in part by the syntactic rela-
tionships present, rather than being a property of the individual
word. Thus we will have what we may well call both *unmarked* and
marked words —some words with no distinctive accent at all on
them, and others with a distinctive (falling) accent on one of their
syllables (25).

 Although this conclusion was somewhat laboriously attained,
I have been encouraged at noting that several writers on the language,
all of them native speakers, have followed essentially this practice, that
is, of marking one syllable of words containing the falling accent,
and leaving other words unmarked. Zamarripa and Omaechevarría
put an accent mark on the first syllable: *gízonak,* whereas Azkue
printed the final syllable lower than the rest or, as a typographical

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 (24) Thus T. Navarro Tomás, "Sobre la entonación y el acento vascos", Revue
Internationale des Etudes Basques 17 (1926), pp. 404-406, says on p. 405 that his
studies of a Guipúzcoan speaker did not confirm the existence of a tonal accent,
as the differences in pitch between the syllables of a word were minuscule (but
cf. fn. 17). This is in reply to a review by Ormaechea, pp. 260-268 of the same
journal volume, of T. Navarro Tomás, "Pronunciación guipuzcoana", pp. 593-
653 in Homenaje a Menéndez Pidal III, Madrid, 1925 (not available to me).

 (25) This analysis is not the same thing as Holmer's distinction between 'key'
syllables and other secondarily accented syllables, later referred to as 'basic accent'
vs. 'rhythmic accent'. See Holmer. El idioma vasco hablado, pp. 20-21, sec. 15;
pp. 26-28, sec. 24; pp. 36-41, secs. 40-49; Holmer and Holmer, "Apuntes vizcaí-
nos (I)", pp. 106-118, sec. 9, but especially pp. 117-118, sec. 9.22. Although some
of the secondary accents will indeed fall on unmarked words, these would also
commonly bear his basic accents. I find it quite impossible to reconcile the facts.
as I see them with Holmer's theory that the basic syllable in the Western dialects
(of his Type 2) is the penult, either descriptively or historically (although, as we
have seen, this does seem appropriate for the Souletin-Roncalese type). In Holmer's
published texts the secondary or rhythmic accents are proportionately of relatively
infrequent occurrence, and are entirely lacking from some texts. (For accented
texts, see El idioma vasco hablado, pp. 109-165; Nils M. Holmer and Vania
Abrahamson de Holmer, "Apuntes vizcaínos II", Anuario del Seminario de Filología
Vasca "Julio de Urquijo" 3 (1969), pp. 171-228.)

substitute, put a grave accent on this syllable: *gizonàk* (26). There are also sources (also by native speakers) that use two kinds of accent marks, acute and grave, but put them only on the final syllable of the word, the types of *gizonák/gizonàk;* clearly one of these marks could be zeroed out (27).

The orthography of these sources suggests the question of whether the location of the falling accent on a particular syllable of a word is phonologically distinctive, or alternatively whether this is a property of the word as a whole, its location being automatically determined by the shape of the word. My own observations indicate that for several dialects the falling tone may occur distinctively on more than one syllable of words of a given shape (although not on the last syllable), so that the accent mark in forms given below will be associated with a particular vowel in a word (and the acute accent mark will be used for this where there is only one kind of accent in a dialect) (28).

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(26) Pablo de Zamarripa, "Temas gramaticales. Palabras vascas con acento, homónimas de otras sin él", Euskal-Esnalea 19 (1929), pp. 110-113; Pablo de Zamarripa y Uraga, Manual del Vascófilo. Libro de modismos, onomatopeyas, elipsis, uso distinto de la *s* y la *z*, y otras cosas que conviene saber para hablar y escribir bien en vascuence vizcaíno, Bilbao, 1913, "Del acento", pp. 254-258. In the latter the actual accent marks are used only on p. 258; elsewhere the phonetic differences are described. Note his statement, p. 256, that a singular like *orrek* 'that' bears the prosodic accent on the second, or last, syllable, or does not bear it on any syllable, just like *gizonak* 'the man', whereas the plural *orrek* 'those' bears it on the first syllable, like *gizonak* 'the men'. Ignacio Ormaechevarría, "Declinación vasca", Euskera 7 (1962), pp. 29-42, accents shown on pp. 36, 39. Aside from p. 13 (cf. fn. 20), this seems to be the approach also of Lopez Mendizabal, La lengua vasca, 2nd ed., pp. 14, 52, 150. Azkue, "Del acento tónico vasco en algunos de sus dialectos", especially vol. 11, pp. 284-286, secs. 3-4; pp. 287-288, sec. 5,5°; vol. 12, p. 50, sec. 27; Azkue, Morfología vasca, pp. 24-26, secs. 17-19; pp. 326-327, sec. 497. This author speaks of *monotonal* vs. *ditonal* words.

(27) Ormaechea, "Acento vasco", pp. 6-7; Michelena, "Euskaltzaindian sartzerakoan... Mitxelena jaunaren erantzuna (Euskal azentuaz)" (cf. fn. 14), pp. 40-41. In Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 385-392, Michelena writes in addition, considering only three- and four-syllable words, an acute accent on the antepenult. This being common to all the words, it could also be zeroed out. My practice adopted below, however, amounts in effect to zeroing out all but such an accent on those words that this source writes with a final grave accent.

(28) The main alternative analysis that I have seriously considered is that what I have called unmarked words, instead of being unaccented, would have the falling accent on their last syllables. The pitch commonly falls in passing from such a word to the next. However, this is typically at a point of deep syntactic division in the sentence, such as in passing from the subject to the predicate. It thus seems preferable to assume that there are one or more kinds of junctures present at various points between words, which cause the pitch to fall, or else perhaps that the syntactic rules place a falling accent on the last syllable of such words as they are combined into constructions.

A typical paradigm in the Guernica dialect, then, would be the following:

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	gison	gisona	gísonak	'man'
Erg.	gisonek	gisonak	gísonak	

As compared to the unaccented or written Western type (sec. 3), the accent makes the ergative singular different from the plural forms, thus giving a new pattern:

This dialect also has some stems which are inherently accented on their first syllables, such as the name *Pátxi*. Other pairs of words showing this accentual contrast for this dialect: 'dog' *txakurrek/txákurrek*, 'boy' *mutillek/mútillek*, 'fish' *arraiñek/árraiñek*, 'son' *semiek/sémiek*, 'girl' *neskiek/néskak*, 'woman' *emakumiek/emákumiek*. Accentuation sets off the plural demonstratives from their corresponding singulars: ergative singular *onek, orrek, arek*, nominative-ergative plural *ónek, órrek, árek*. If the demonstrative follows the noun, only the demonstrative is accented in the plural: *gison árek* 'those men', but if it precedes, both words are accented: *árek gísonak* 'those men'. Note also plurals *bízek* 'the two', *gisom bátsuk* 'some men'.

Such Vizcayan dialects as this show fairly frequently a plural ending *-ok* in the nominative and ergative. This implies inclusion of either the speaker or the hearer in the group referred to. This may occur when a noun is preceded by either of the two nearer demonstratives: *ónek gísonok* 'these men', *órrek gísonok* 'those men'. The distinctive vocalism *-o-* (which may also be followed by other

case endings) thus gives the same paradigmatic information as does the plural accentuation, leaving us still with the pattern of the diagram (29).

A dialect that differs in some features of its accentuation system has been observed for a younger speaker representing this same area (30). Here the placement of the accentuation marking plurality typically comes on the second syllable in words of three syllables, instead of on the first: nominative-ergative plural *gisónak* 'men' *txakúrrek* 'dogs'. On longer words this also comes on the second syllable, which seems to be true also of the other dialect: *katílluek* 'cups'. For monosyllabic stems or bisyllabic stems ending in *-a*, whose nominative-ergative plurals will contain just two syllables, the plural-number accent is still on the first syllable: *ámak* 'mothers', *úrek* 'waters', *lúrrek* 'grounds', *óiek* 'beds'. The demonstratives are just as for the other Guernica speakers, accented in the plural on the first syllable. Other plural words are *súek* 'you (pl.)', *sértsuk* 'what (pl.)'. Adjectives following nouns take on the plural accentuation: *txakur gustížek* 'all the dogs', *sugats txikížek* 'small trees'. There is considerable apparent free variation in the phonetic accentuation of unmarked words; for three-syllable words, most often prominence seems to be given to the first and third syllables, but sometimes to the second syllable, or the last, or the last two syllables. Some stems are inherently accented on their first or second syllables; this excludes any distinctive accentuation to mark the plural category. Although my evidence is not always clear, these seem to include *béste* 'other', *gánie* 'top of', *kámpoa* 'outside of' (cf. derivatives *kámpokoak, kámpotarrak* 'strangers'), *básoa* 'glass', *txístue* 'flute; saliva', *lákue* 'lake', *atsámarra* 'finger', *bekókiže* 'forehead', *belárriže* 'ear', *mantíllie* 'mantilla', *gusánoa* 'worm' (some of these are, of course, relatively recent loan words).

The paradigm for the word for 'man' in this type of Guernica

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(29) Gavel, Grammaire basque, p. 160 of sec. 108; Pablo de Zamarripa y Uraga, Gramática vasca, 4th ed., Bermeo, 1931, pp. 54-55, 208; Villasante, La declinación del vasco literario común, pp. 105-106. This last source emphasizes that in the older language endings with -ᴏ- were not necessarily plural, but rather expressed immediacy or proximity with respect to the interlocutor.

(30) I am indebted to Arantza Apodaka for cooperation in observation of her speech, in connection with a class in Linguistic Field Methods at the University of Nevada, Reno, from September 1967 to January 1968. Prof. Basterrechea informs me that, according to his observations in Guernica in 1972, the plural accentuation of trisyllabic words is now mostly of this *gisónak* type; people from the surrounding mountains, especially those older than fifty, still accent these plurals on the first syllable.

dialect will thus differ from the last-given one only in the nominative and ergative plural forms: *gisónak* instead of *gísonak*. But the square diagram given will still subsume this type —the plural forms are the accented ones, and the exact syllable accented becomes unimportant.

A very similar pattern to the more conservative Guernica dialect has been noted in brief observation of the Guipúzcoan dialect of Ormáiztegui (31). Plural nouns again take an accent on the penult of their stems: *gízonak* 'men', *zákurrak* 'dogs', *gurásoak* 'parents'; similarly for *gizom bátzuek* 'some men'. There occur nouns whose stem is inherently accented, thus neutralizing any indication of plurality by accent: *sémeak* 'son(s)' is both ergative singular and nominative-ergative plural. Unaccented nouns receive the most prominence on the second syllable; the pitch starts out fairly high, and may lower somewhat on syllables after the second one. Demonstratives, which have distinctive stems for singular vs. plural, are not accented in the plural: ergative singular *onek, orrek, arek,* nominative-ergative plural *auek, oiek, aiek.*

An apparently somewhat different variation on this type of accented system, which may in fact necessitate the recognition of two different kinds of accents, was noted for the northern High Navarrese dialect of Oyarzun, in a limited amount of observation (32). The plural cases are again accentually set off from the others: nominative-ergative *gizònak* 'men', *txakùrrak* 'dogs'. The kind of accent that is here marked is manifested by a lowering of the pitch, which rises up again to a normal level on the following syllable. There is also stress on the accented syllable. The unaccented singulars to which these words are opposed, ergatives *gizonak, txakurrak,* are also pronounced with stress on their second syllables, but here the pitch rises from the first to the second syllable and remains high thereafter. Thus both kinds of words give the impression of being stressed on the second syllable, but the pitches of these syllables differ, high in the singular, low in the plural. A two-syllable word takes the plural accent on the first syllable: ergative singular *neskak* 'girl', nominative-ergative plural *nèskak* 'girls'. Both these words show a rise in pitch from the first to the second syllable, but the whole level of pitch is lower for the latter word than for the former.

Demonstratives also take this plural accentuation, in addition to
having distinctively plural stems: ergative singular *onek, orrek,
arek* vs. nominative-ergative plural *àuek, òiek, àiek*. This is equally
true when they occur modifying nouns: *gizon arek* 'that man'
(ergative) vs. *gizon àiek* 'those men' (nominative-ergative). Another
accent seems to be needed to account for the high pitch of the first
syllable of a word like *sémea* 'son', ergative singular *sémeak*. Unlike
the situation in other dialects we have discussed, this special marking
of a singular stem does not inhibit a plural accentuation, which
shows the low pitch on this same first syllable: *sèmeak* 'sons' (33).

An interesting borderline case was observed for an informant
from the eastern Vizcayan dialect of Placencia de las Armas (34).
Here the expected Western-type accent differentiates the singular
from the plural demonstratives: ergative singular *onek, orrek, arek,*
nominative-ergative plural *ónek, órrek, árek,* and also ergative sin-
gular *berak* 'he, she, it' vs. nominative-ergative plural *bérak* 'they'.
A plural-type accent is also found on *básuek* 'some'. But there is
no such difference of accent on nouns, so that words such as *gisonak,
txakurrak* will express indifferently the categories of ergative singu-
lar, nominative plural, and ergative plural. Interestingly enough, the
accentual differences for demonstratives seem to be neutralized when
they occur as part of noun phrases modifying a preceding noun:
phrases like *txakur onek* 'this dog, these dogs' and *gison arek* 'that
man, those men' belong to the same three categories. Thus nouns
and such noun phrases fit into the diagram for the Western unaccented
type, whereas the demonstratives are of the Western accented
type (but lacking an indeterminate form). The situation is thus
approximately the opposite of what we saw for Ormáiztegui, where
the differential accentuation patterns applied to nouns but not to

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(33) Although this dialect is presumably of Holmer's "Guipúzcoan" type, or
Type 2, rather than his "Navarrese" type, or Type 1, which occurs nearby along
the lower reaches of the Bidasoa (Fuenterrabía, Irún, etc.), one notes a kind of
similarity to this other type in that phonetic stress stays on the second syllable
of a word, in spite of the contrast present. In the Type 1 dialects the accent is
said to be typically on the second syllable of polysyllabic stems, and not to vary
its position from one category to another of the nominal declension. See Holmer,
El idioma vasco hablado, p. 1, for identification of localities pertaining to these
dialects, and pp. 36-37, sec. 40, for description of accent placement in the declension.
These findings for Type 1 dialects are summarized in Michelena, Fonética histórica
vasca, pp. 389-390, sec. 20.8, and "A propos de l'accent basque", pp. 211-212,
sec. 8.

(34) I am indebted to Ramón Bereicua for cooperation in observation of his
speech in August 1972.

demonstratives (and again not to noun phrases ending in demonstratives). There seems to be a stem-final accent occurring on nouns focused on (cf. sec. 19):

txakúrra ikusten dau gisonak 'it's the dog that the man sees'
gisónak ikusten dau txakurra 'it's the man that sees the dog'

A variant type of accented dialect, which puts the accent on the ergative singular rather than on the plural forms was rather explicitly, although briefly, described for part of northern High Navarrese some years ago by Ormaechea (35). This shows, for 'man', ergative singular *gízonak*, nominative and ergative plural *gizonák*. No information was given about the indeterminate forms, which might well be accented, but in any case will have a distinctive ending for most nouns. This dialect thus shows the same pattern of overtly distinct categories as the preceding Western accented ones, even though the distribution of accents among the categories is different:

'-ak	-ak
-(e) k	

Although we have been considering the two plural cases with the suffixes -*k*, it is important to realize that the plural accentuation occurs with all cases in the plural. Thus, from Guernica, dative singular *amari* 'to the mother', dative plural *ámari* 'to the mothers', or demonstratives, genitive singular *onen, orren, aren*, genitive plural *ónen, órren, áren*. Thus the accent is by itself an allomorph of the plural-indicating morpheme, which only in the nominative will be signalled in addition by the -*k*. An explicit account of the morphophonemics of accentuation of words would be moderately complicated. Besides expressing the plural, an accent may be an inherent

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(35) Ormaechea, "Acento vasco", pp. 6-7. In his notation the two words are respectively *gizonàk* and *gizonák*.

feature of a stem, as we have seen for several dialects. According to Azkue and others, an accent may also be required by certain suffixes, such as case suffixes *-tik*, ablative, or *-kin, -gaz*, sociative (*etxetìk* 'from the house', *gizonagàz* 'with the man'), or the second person familiar feminine ergative verbal suffix *-na* (*dakiñà* 'you [fem.] know it'). On the other hand, it may also be required by certain verbal prefixes, such as conditional *ba-* (*badatòr* 'if he comes') or the (zero) second person familiar prefix. In the dialect described by Azkue, the fall of pitch is always localized on the last syllable, so that adding a suffix to a word that is plural or inherently accented will cause the accent to move one or more syllables to the right; e.g., names *Markòs*, genitive *Markosèn*; *Perù*, dative *Perurì* (in our notation *Márkos, Markósen*; *Péru, Perúri*). Thus the effect of a suffix like *-tik* would be neutralized on such stems. This accent movement does not take place in the younger Guernica dialect, but here also the presence of a plural accentuation in a word will inhibit any further effect of such a suffix (*mendìžetatik* 'from the mountains', *katílluetatik* 'from the cups') (36).

8. There is a kind of vowel harmony that occurs in more than one dialect area. A vowel *a* in an inflectional ending following a high vowel *i* or *u* in the final syllable of a stem changes to *e*, thus erasing for consonant-stems a distinction of vocalism that served to distinguish certain pairs of endings in all the preceding patterns. Within the Western area, this is found in the greater part of the Vizcayan dialect area, with the exception of a sizable eastern and northeastern segment (37). It is also attested from the Guipúzcoan

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(36) Cf. Azkue, "Del acento tónico vasco en algunos de sus dialectos", especially vol. 11, pp. 287-288, sec. 5,5°; p. 290, sec. 5,13°; pp. 291-292, sec. 6,1°; pp. 293-295, sec. 7; pp. 296-297, sec. 8,3°-4°; and vol. 12, p. 3, sec. 8;5°.

(37) Cf. Rudolf P. G. de Rijk, "Vowel Interaction in Bizcayan Basque", Fontes Linguae Vasconum 5 (1970), pp. 149-167, especially pp. 157 ff. (rule *Rui*); Holmer and Holmer, "Apuntes vizcaínos (I)", p. 101, sec. 7.2; Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 63-64, sec. 2.4; Gavel, "Eléments de phonétique basque", p. 17, fn. 2; Resurrección María de Azkue, "Fonética vasca", pp. 456-480 in Primer Congreso de Estudios Vascos, Bilbao, 1919, p. 475, sec. 13C and E; Azkue, Morfología vasca, p. 452, sec. 665A. I present a paper "Rule Ordering in Vizcayan Basque Vowel Harmony" to the First Annual California Linguistics Conference, at the University of California, Berkeley, on May 1, 1971; this was based primarily on data from Guernica. As Michelena, loc. cit., points out, this type of vowel harmony turns up already in a Vizcayan text of the 17th century: L[uis] M[ichelena], "Un catecismo vizcaíno del siglo XVII", Boletín de la Real Sociedad Vascongada de los Amigos del País 10 (1954), pp. 85-95. In the version of vowel harmony found at Ondárroa, only *a*'s in absolute final position are

dialect of Azpeitia and from the northern High Navarrese dialects of Leiza and the Ulzama Valley (38). Most of these dialects doubtless exhibit the Western pattern of accent setting off the plural forms from the others. The pattern may be exemplified by the following paradigm from Guernica (cf. sec. 7):

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	egun	egune	egúnek	'day'
Erg.	egunek	egunek	egúnek	

For consonant-final words that trigger this change, the overt contrasts are thus limited to one of singular vs. plural:

-ek	'-ek

The vowel-final stems that condition vowel harmony are fairly numerous. In about half of the area in question these include not only stems ending in *i* and *u*, but also stems ending in *e*, which is raised to *i* before suffixes beginning with basic *a*, and in a smaller area stem-final *o* is similarly raised to *u* (39). Thus, from Guernica, not only:

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affected; a following consonant inhibits this change, so that no additional syncretism of the K-endings is introduced; thus for 'dog', nominative singular *txakurre* but nominative plural *txakurrak*: Rotaeche and Doneux, "Sur un point de morphologie nominale du basque", pp. 276, 277, sec. 3, 1° and 3°, Rule 2.

(38) De Rijk, "Vowel Interaction in Bizcayan Basque", p. 158; Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, p. 64.

(39) Cf. De Rijk, "Vowel Interaction in Bizcayan Basque", pp. 156-157, 160-163 (rules *Rea, Roa*); Azkue, "Fonética vasca", p. 475, sec. 13B and D.

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	mendi	mendiže	mendížek	'mountain'
Erg.	mendik	mendižek	mendížek	

but also:

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	seme	semie	semíek	'son'
Erg.	semek	semiek	semíek	

Nevertheless, these vowel-final stems show as many categorial distinctions as do the other non-harmonizing vowel and consonant stems in these dialects:


9. This type of vowel harmony is found also in the Eastern-type dialect of Maya (Baztán Valley) (cf. sec. 4) (40):

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(40) N'Diaye, Structure du dialecte basque de Maya, pp. 116, 118-119. Strangely enough, there is no mention of this as a general phonological process in either the treatment of archiphonemes and neutralization in chap. 2, pp. 20-23, or in that of sandhi in chap. 5, pp. 37-39. The noun paradigms given, pp. 117 ff., all lack the ergative and dative cases of the indeterminate, although most of them show the other cases. This is probably due to a gap in elicitation rather than a real lacuna in the system; certainly the ergative case as shown herein follows from the pattern of the other indeterminate cases; note the statement, p. 109, that the informants have difficulty with the definite/indeterminate opposition in cases other than the nominative. On p. 29 are given figures on the relative frequency of vowels in a text sample of ten thousand phonemes. The vowels *i* and *u* together make up about 28.5% of vowel occurrences; if we can assume that vowels in the final syllables of noun stems are distributed in the same proportion, then about this percentage of noun stems in a text would belong in this dialect to the type under consideration.

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.
Nom.	egun	egune	egunek
Erg.	egunek	egunek	egunek

This dialect, apparently lacking accentual differences, thus shows but a single K-ending, *-ek,* in this class of consonant-final words:
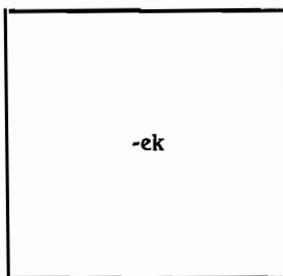
The same would be true of Western high-vowel harmonizing dialects (sec. 8) that might lack accentual differences or that might be written showing these vowel changes.

For vowel-final words, here as elsewhere the ergative indeterminate remains distinct. We find in them the same pattern of distinctions as in the Western written or unaccented dialects:
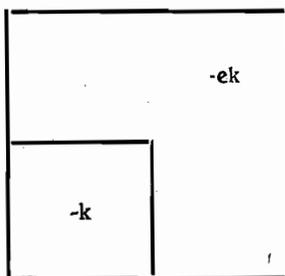

10.   Stems ending in the vowel *a* exhibit some additional patterns of syncretism in certain dialects. In many cases the *-a* of the definite

endings contracts with this stem-final vowel, so as to neutralize the definite/indeterminate distinction (41).

The Eastern unaccented type of dialect keeps here as elsewhere the vowel -e- in the ergative plural (42):

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom	eliza	eliza	elizak	'church'
Erg.	elizak	elizak	elizek	

This gives a unique pattern of syncretism for the K-endings:
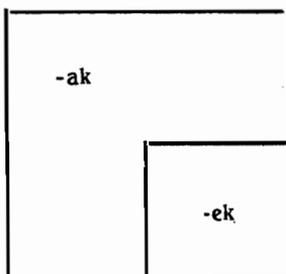
Souletin shows the same vocalism, but distinguishes the definite from the indeterminate forms by its stress accent. This falls on the final syllable for the definite forms, since this continues the penult of Pre-Basque (cf. sec. 6) (43):
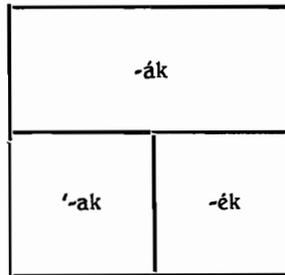
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(41) Certain dialects, especially eastern Vizcayan ones, and no doubt more widely at an earlier date, do not completely contract such vowels, but retain distinctive long or geminate vowels here (Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 111-114, secs. 5.2d, 5.3). Such dialects will presumably show the same pattern for a-stems as for vowel-stems in general.

(42) Cf. Gavel, Grammaire basque, pp. 64-67, sec. 68; Pierre Lafitte, Grammaire basque (Navarro-Labourdin littéraire), revised ed., Bayonne, 1962, p. 59, sec. 135b; N'Diaye, Structure du dialecte basque de Maya, p. 117.

(43) Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, p. 110, sec. 5.2a, and p. 394, sec. 20.11 end; "A propos de l'accent basque", p. 215, sec. 11; Gavel, Grammaire basque, p. 66 of sec. 68. Holmer, El idioma vasco hablado, p. 49, fn. 94, indicates that there is an analogous accentual distinction in certain Western dialects. Similarly Azkue, "Fonética vasca", p. 475, sec. 13A and fn. 1, for some Guipúzcoan and High Navarrese, who limits this to the singular only. These fragmentary indications are hard to interpret within the system of the Western accent; if reliable, such dialects, like those mentioned in fn. 41, may show for these words the same pattern as for other vowel-stems.

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	alhába	alhabá	alhabák	'daughter'
Erg.	alhábak	alhabák	alhabék	

The same distinctions are made in Roncalese (44). Thus these *a*-stems show the same overt distinctions as do other words in these dialects (45):

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+---------------------+
|                     |
|        -ák          |
|                     |
+----------+----------+
|          |          |
|  '-ak    |   -ék    |
|          |          |
+----------+----------+
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Yet another distinctive pattern emerges for *a*-stems in the Salazar Valley (46). In the singular, an -*r*- is inserted between the stem-vowel and the -*a* of the suffix, thus avoiding coalescence and setting this category off from both the indeterminate and the plural (*eliza* 'church': *elizara* 'the church'). The pattern emerging in the diagram is the only one found wherein a pair of forms in opposite corners are identical, to the exclusion of the other forms:

(44) Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, p. 110, sec. 5.2a, and p. 395, sec. 20.12; "A propos de l'accent basque", p. 216, sec. 12. This dialect, lacking an *h*, shows for 'daughter' nominative indeterminate *alába*, vs. nominative singular *alabá*. Leiçarraga seems to exhibit this same pattern of accent on *a*-stems (cf. fn. 12).

(45) I note that in the description of Souletin of Tardets in Fenaille Mispiratzeguy, Dictionnaire français-basque [including Grammaire basque], Paris, n.d., p. 115, an ergative indeterminate form in -*ek* rather than -*ak* is shown for such a stem, *ama* 'mother': *amek*, ergative indeterminate and plural, *amak*, ergative singular and nominative plural. As written this is the same as the Eastern unaccented type for consonant-stems (sec. 4). With the stress differences, which this cource also mentions (p. 114), the distinctions are the ame as shown here, except that the ergative indeterminate becomes '-*ek*. This is like the general Souletin pattern that we saw in sec. 6, except that the accent is on the ending -*ák*.

(46) Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, p. 131 of sec. 6.4; Luis Michelena, Textos arcaicos vascos, Madrid, 1964, p. 50; Gavel, Grammaire basque, p. 65 of sec. 68; Azkue, "Fonética vasca", p. 475, sec. 13A; Azkue, Morfología vasca, p. 451, sec. 661, adición 1ª.

-arak	-ak
-ak	-ek

Western varieties of course lack the distinctive vocalism of the ergative plural. Aside from Vizcayan, which makes an idiosyncratic distinction in these *a*-stems, the Western unaccented dialects hence are limited to the single shape -*ak* for all K-endings (reminiscent of the single ending -*ek* due to high-vowel harmony that we met in sec. 9):

-ak

Western accented varieties introduce a singular/plural distinction, thus showing for a-stems the same pattern as for vowel-harmony words (sec. 8):

-ak	'-ak

Vizcayan and adjacent western Guipúzcoan dialects, however, have shown since the earliest records a characteristic trait of raising the stem-final *a* to *e* before the *-a* of the definite singular (but not plural) endings, hence avoiding a contraction of these two adjacent vowels (47). As a consequence, the ergative singular ending in *-eak* stands apart in written or unaccented varieties from the other K-endings, which are *-ak*:

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	alaba	alabea	alabak	'daughter'
Erg.	alabak	alabeak	alabak	

This is another unique pattern of syncretism:
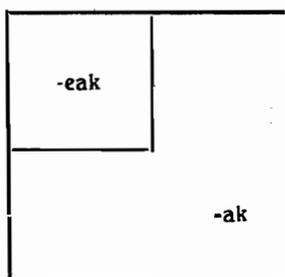
In spoken accented Vizcayan the singular/plural distinction is additionally present. The following paradigm is from the younger-generation Guernica dialect, which embodies vowel harmony. Note that here the *e* is further raised to *i*, making the singular endings the same as for *seme* 'son' (sec. 8):

	Ind.	Sg.	Pl.	
Nom.	alaba	alabie	alábak	'daughter'
Erg.	alabak	alabiek	alábak	

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(47) Cf. Michelena, Fonética histórica vasca, pp. 114-115, sec. 5.4; De Rijk, "Vowel Interaction in Bizcayan Basque", pp. 150-154, 158 (rule *Raa*); Gavel, Grammaire basque, p. 65 of sec. 68; Azkue, "Fonética vasca", p. 475, sec. 13A.

Such words have the same pattern of overtly distinct categories that nouns in general do in this dialect (48):
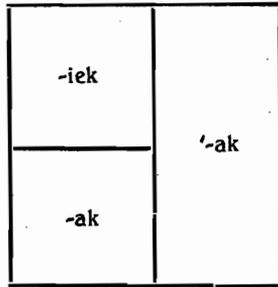

11. From a survey of the different square diagrams it can be seen that we have been able to isolate nine different patterns of syncretism among these four declensional endings of nouns, although some of them will apply to only part of the noun lexicon in a given dialect. The corresponding diagrams have the following topologies:
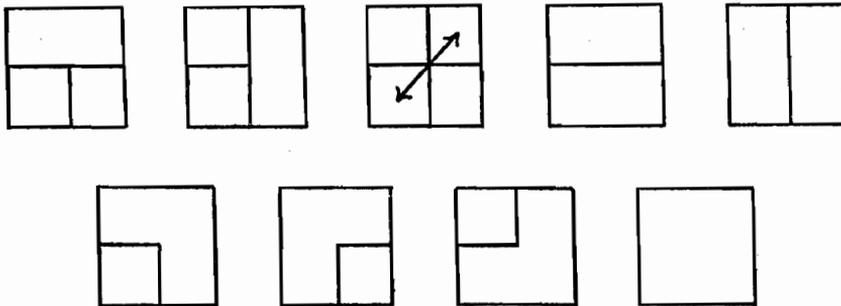
This is out of a mathematically possible fifteen different patterns. The format of diagram adopted is able to overtly distinguish twelve

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(48) Although this is the overwhelmingly predominant pattern at Guernica for *a*-stems, a few words, doubtless due to the informant's extensive familiarity with other dialects, have been found to occur without this vowel raising in the singular, thus in the pattern of non-Vizcayan Western dialects: these include *ama* 'mother', *arreba* 'sister of male', and *arbola* 'tree' for Miss Apodaka.

of these merely by different combinations of the horizontal and vertical dividing lines; in the one case found wherein a pair of forms in opposite corners are identical to the exclusion of other forms (Salazar Valley *a*-stems), a double-headed arrow connecting these corners has been added. The arrangement of the diagrams takes advantage of the fact that such exclusive syncretism between the ergative indeterminate and the nominative plural is uncommon, and also the opposite case, syncretism between the ergative singular and the ergative plural without this involving other forms as well, has not been found. Another negative fact is that the nominative plural never has a form of its own which is not shared by at least one other of these categories. This accounts for the non-occurring patterns:
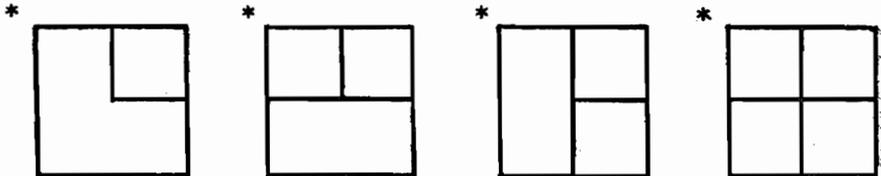
We thus do not find a system wherein all four forms are different. One could easily imagine this occurring, if there would be a dialect which combined the Eastern-type distinctive ergative plural vocalism with the Western-type accentual differences for number. But such a dialect seems not to be attested, which I find a noteworthy fact and one which may have implications for explaining the origin of the Western accent (49).

12. So far we have been considering the declensional patterns of common nouns. Other classes of words share these case, definiteness, and number categories to a greater or lesser extent: adjectives, participles, demonstratives, and various kinds of pronouns. Many of these allow, however, a lesser roster of categories, thus reducing

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(49) Exactly such a system is in fact attributed to Labourdin and Souletin in Arturo Campión, Gramática de los cuatro dialectos literarios de la lengua euskara, Tolosa, 1884, p. 197. It seems clear that, for lack of better information at that date, the author has merely extrapolated from the Western type accentuation, a version of which he accurately characterizes and attributes to Guipúzcoan and Vizcayan.

the possibilities for syncretism of K-endings. Proper nouns, names of persons or places, occur only in the indeterminate category, so that a K-ending on them necessarily indicates the ergative case. Pronouns in general lack the definite/indeterminate distinction, and many lack the singular/plural distinction as well. For personal pronouns, the stem gives an indication of number, so here also the -*k* will indicate the ergative, as in *nik* 'I', *guk* 'we' (opposed to nominatives *ni, gu*). The exception is secondarily formed *zuek* 'you (pl.)', which apparently in all dialects is ambiguous as between nominative and ergative plural (unlike *zuk* 'you (polite sg.)', ergative as contrasted with nominative *zu*) (50). Other pronouns lacking plurals are such as the indefinite *norbait* 'someone' (ergative *norbaitek*) and (except in Vizcayan) the interrogatives *nor* 'who', *zer* 'what', and *zein* 'which' (ergatives *nork/nok, zerk/zek, zeinek*). Some plural pronouns have distinctive formations, such as the Vizcayan plurals of those just mentioned, *nortzuk, zertzuk, zeintzuk,* or the plural *batzuk/batzuek* 'some', formed from *bat* 'one' (which itself may take plural case endings); this thus avoids homonymy between the singular and plural forms with K-endings. Demonstratives generally have distinctive plural forms; in the Western accented dialects these differ from the singulars by being accented on the first syllable, and also in some of these same dialects as well as everywhere else there are distinctive singular vs. plural stem forms. An exception here is constituted by the intensive demonstrative *bera* 'he, she, it', which declines like an *a*-stem noun. In eastern Vizcayan we have seen (sec. 7) that the accent distinguishes the ergative singular *berak* from the nominative-ergative plural *bérak;* in unaccented or written dialects the forms are the same, except that the ergative plural may take the Eastern *e*-vocalism (and not all dialects use this in the plural) (51).

Within the plural the demonstratives and other pronouns tend to show a parallelism with the noun, that is, in the Western area the nominative and ergative plurals are not distinguished, but in much of the Eastern area this distinction is made. Here the ergative plural of demonstratives often has an additional syllable, ending in -*ek* as opposed to a -*k* of the nominative plural; thus Labourdin nominative

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(50) Cf. Lafon, "Expression de l'auteur de l'action en basque", p. 199; Gavel, Grammaire basque, pp. 175-176, sec. 114, which mentions, however, p. 180, sec. 118, that certain authors, notably Harriet, make a distinction between nominative *zuik* and ergative *zuek*.

(51) For a helpful summary of number and definiteness oppositions as applied to different classes of substantives, see René Lafon, "Le nombre dans la déclinaison basque", Via Domitia 1 (1954), pp. 112-121, especially the summary chart on p. 119.

plurals *hauk, hoik, hek* vs. ergative plurals *hauiek, hoiek, heiek* (52).
In recent recommendations for a standard written language, such a
distinction is not recognized for these demonstratives, but is found
for *berak* vs. *berek* 'they' and *batzuk* vs. *batzuek* 'some' (53). Yet
another pattern is that of numerals higher than 'one' —these have
indeterminate and plural forms, but no singulars. These defective
patterns offer no new combinations of syncretism that we have not
already encountered in common nouns; they would all fit into por-
tions of the above diagrams.

13.   These varying patterns of conflation of the ergative and
the nominative plural endings might be expected to cause consid-
erable uncertainly as to syntactic function of words bearing one of
them, but this is not so often the case as one might a priori expect.
Various contextual devices serve to reduce the possibilities of num-
ber and case, and prime among these is the pattern of agreement
with pronominal affixes of the finite verb in the same clause.
    In the first place, the verb very clearly indicates by its affixes,
as well as usually by its class membership, whether it is intransitive
or transitive. If it is the former, this means of course that a K-ending
must represent the nominative plural, since intransitive verbs do not
occur with ergative-case arguments. Additionally, the intransitive verb
indicates the number of a third-person subject, which in such a case
would have to be plural. Two such clauses are the following:

gizonak (NP) etorri dira 'the men came'
alabak (NP) an daude 'the daughters are there'

In parentheses after each noun I give an abbreviation for its case
and number categories; here I will be following the convention of
indicating only the possibilities left open by the total context that
is exhibited, to the exclusion of additional categories that might
belong to the noun if cited in isolation.

14.   If, on the other hand, the verb is transitive, then associated

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(52) Cf. Pierre Lafitte, Grammaire basque (Navarro-Labourdin littéraire),
revised ed., p. 82, sec. 181; Gavel, Grammaire basque, pp. 162-169, secs. 110-112.
More archaic forms for the ergative plurals are *haukiek, hoiek, heiek*; on the loss
of the *-k-* here, cf. Gavel, "Eléments de phonétique basque", pp. 344-345.

(53) Cf. Villasante, La declinación del vasco literario común, pp. 75-80, 82, 91.
In the older language the latter actually took the indeterminate endings, hence
nominative plural *batzu*, ergative plural *batzuk*; cf. Lafon, op. cit., p. 117.

nouns can occur in both the nominative and the ergative cases. Here the reduction of ambiguities is aided by the fact that the finite transitive verb always contains pronominal affixes referring to both subject and object, whether or not these are additionally expressed by nouns or noun substitutes. Here also the affixes of the verb show the number, singular vs. plural, of third person subjects and objects, which limits possibilities insofar as a given shape of noun ending might potentially express both singular and plural categories (54). (In discussing agreement in number, I will leave out of account the relatively infrequent indeterminate forms. A verbal reference to such a form may be either singular or plural, depending on its implied meaning. Aside from vowel harmony and *a*-stems, the only instance of syncretism involving the ergative indeterminate is in Eastern (not including Souletin stressed) varieties, where it falls together with the ergative plural on consonant-stems; here, of course, the noun ending still unambiguously indicates the ergative case.)

Let us consider first the case where a transitive verb is accompanied by a single noun. If this verb indicates its nominative-case object as being singular, there will be no ambiguity as to the function of this noun, as the presence or absence of a K-ending will indicate whether it is nominative or ergative, once the possibility of a nominative plural category is excluded, and furthermore, the number of the ergative category will be indicated by the verb form. After each finite transitive verb in the following examples are given abbreviations for the combination of numbers in ergative and nominative cases that is indicated by its affixes. In these first two examples the verb shows that both subject and object are singular, so the K-ending on *gizonak* indicates it is the subject in the ergative case, whereas the lack of a -*k* on *gizona* shows it is the object in the nominative case:

gizonak (ES) ikusi du (ES+NS) 'the man saw it'
gizona (NS) ikusi du (ES+NS) 'he saw the man'

These next two examples are very similar, but here the verb form indicates that the ergative-case subject noun is plural, thus resolving also a potential ambiguity between ergative singular and plural forms in the Western written or accentless spoken and the Eastern vowel-harmony noun forms:

(54) On the relevance of the indication by the verb of the number of its subject, cf. Azkue, Morfologia vasca, p. 272, sec. 440.

gizonak (EP) ikusi dute (EP+NS) 'the men saw it'
gizona (NS) ikusi dute (EP+NS) 'they saw the man'

15.   If, however, the verb indicates the plural number of the nominative case object, then an ambiguity as to whether a single noun with a K-ending is subject or object will exist, unless the form of the noun itself gives more than the minimum possible amount of information as to its case-number category. Let us consider first examples wherein the transitive verb indicates a combination of ergative plural and nominative singular arguments —the two nominal categories whose inflectional endings, it will be remembered, were probably identical in Pre-Basque (sec. 2). In all written or accentless spoken varieties of Basque, including the Souletin stressed type, these two forms are still identical, so that there exists such an ambiguity as this:

gizonak (ES/NP) ikusi ditu (ES+NP) 'the man saw them/he saw the men'

Since the verb indicates that its two arguments differ in number, the subject or object indicated only by the verb form must be taken to be opposite in number from the noun. Thus singular 'the man', subject, with plural 'them' as object, or else, plural 'the men', object, with singular 'he' as subject. In those varieties where differences of accent correlate with the singular vs. plural number in the noun, this additional information suffices to resolve this ambiguity, as illustrated by these two sentences from the Vizcayan dialect of Guernica:

gisonak (ES) ikusi deus (ES+NP) 'the man saw them'
gisónak (NP) ikusi deus (ES+NP) 'he saw the men'

16.   The final possible number combination of subject and object is for both of them to be plural. In this situation there is again ambiguity for a single noun as between subjective and objective functions, but this time it occurs in those varieties wherein the ergative plural and the nominative plural forms are the same, which is to say in the Western varieties and also in words undergoing high-vowel harmony in Eastern varieties. An example of the former variety:

gizonak (EP/NP) ikusi dituzte (EP+NP) 'the men saw them/they saw the men'

There is resolution of this ambiguity in Eastern varieties (including Souletin) which distinguish between ergative plural and nominative plural noun forms by the vocalism of the ending:

gizonek (EP) ikusi dituzte (EP+NP)   'the men saw them'
gizonak (NP) ikusi dituzte (EP+NP)   'they saw the men'

17. Four diagrams will now be given in an attempt to summarize the patterns of ambiguity we have just surveyed in sections 14-16, where a transitive verb is accompanied by a single noun. Each of the four squares within a diagram represents that combination of numbers of ergative and nominative pronominal categories in the verb which belongs to the intersecting row and column. A slanting line separating the two case-number categories within one of these squares indicates that they will be unambiguously distinguishable for the noun; hence the absence of such a line is indicative that the noun may ambiguously represent either of the two categories in question. The top half of all four diagrams is the same, and shows that there is no ambiguity when the nominative category is singular, as was shown by the examples of sec. 13. Our first diagram pertains to Western accented varieties, including all stem types (secs. 7, 8 and 10), and indicates that there is ambiguity here only with plural subject and object, since in these varieties the noun shows its number:
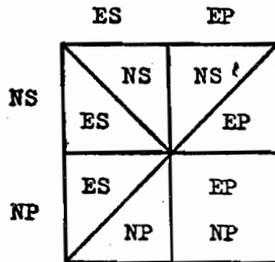
The next diagram applies to the Eastern area, including the Souletin-Roncalese stressed variety (secs. 4, 6), but excluding high-vowel harmony words (sec. 9), and also to the restricted northern High Navarrese type (sec. 5), and presumably to Pre-Basque (sec. 2). It tells us that an ambiguity obtains only for the combination of

ergative singular and nominative plural; these are varieties where the noun does not show a general singular/plural distinction, but the ergative plural is distinguished from the other definite forms by its vocalism or by an extra syllable:

```
              ES        EP
          ┌─────────┬─────────┐
          │╲   NS   │   NS   ╱│
     NS   │  ╲      │      ╱  │
          │ES  ╲    │    ╱ EP │
          ├──────╲──┼──╱──────┤
          │ ES    ╱ │ ╲   EP  │
     NP   │     ╱   │   ╲     │
          │   ╱ NP  │  NP  ╲  │
          └─────────┴─────────┘
```

Our third diagram shows that these two possibilities for ambiguity both occur in Western written and unaccented spoken varieties (sec. 3), as well as in the high-vowel harmony words of Eastern (stressless) varieties (sec. 9), these being varieties in which the noun does not show any distinction among the three definite categories taking K-endings (nominative plural, ergative singular and plural):

```
              ES        EP
          ┌─────────┬─────────┐
          │╲   NS   │   NS   ╱│
     NS   │  ╲      │      ╱  │
          │ES  ╲    │    ╱ EP │
          ├──────╲──┼──╱──────┤
          │   ES    │   EP    │
     NP   │         │         │
          │   NP    │   NP    │
          └─────────┴─────────┘
```

Our last diagram applies, as far as known, only to the unusual case of the Salazar Valley a-stems, where the four categories in question are overtly different. If there should exist a dialect which combines the Western number-differentiating accent with the Eastern

distinctive form for ergative plural (cf. sec. 11), this also would not show any ambiguity in this circumstance, for nouns of all stem-types:
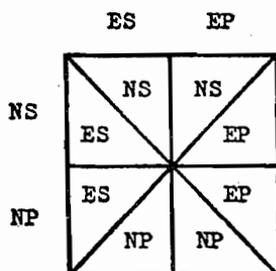
Most varieties of spoken Basque belong to the types of the first two diagrams, which seems to indicate that there is a natural tendency toward tolerating an intermediate degree of ambiguity, neither too much nor unnecessarily little.

18.   In addition to number, the affixes on both intransitive and transitive verbs also indicate the person of both subject and object. If either the subject or the object of a transitive verb is other than third person, this will resolve all ambiguities about the case and number of a single accompanying noun. This is illustrated by the following examples, all of them with a first person singular pronominal affix in the verb (numerals 1 and 2 in the parentheses indicate first and second persons):

gizonak (ES) ikusi nau (ES+N1S)   'the man saw me'
gizonak (EP) ikusi naute (EP+N1S)   'the men saw me'
gizonak (NP) ikusi ditut (E1S+NP)   'I saw the men'
gizona (NS) ikusi det (E1S+NS)   'I saw the man'

Verbal indication of person also comes into account in resolving the ambiguity of the second person plural pronoun *zuek*, which is both nominative and ergative (sec. 12). An associated verb will inevitably indicate whether its reference to second person plural is as subject or object. In sentences such as the following, the independent pronoun adds emphasis but does not change the meaning:

zuek (E2P) ikusi dezute (E2P+NS)   'you (pl.) saw it'
zuek (N2P) ikusi zaituzte (ES+N2P)   'he saw you (pl.)'

19. Let us now consider the case where two nouns are present in a clause, expressing respectively the subject and the object of a transitive verb. Here the possibility of word order as a factor in reducing ambiguity suggests itself. We may first examine the same unambiguous combinations with a nominative singular object that we saw in sec. 14, so that some word order possibilities can be clearly observed. The normal unemphatic word order is subject-object-verb, that is, with the noun in the ergative case preceding that in the nominative, as in:

> gizonak (ES) txakurra (NS) ikusi du (ES+NS)   'the man saw the dog'

But it is possible to depart from this order so as to put focus on one of the nouns, by causing it to appear immediately before the verb. The following example, maintaining the same case relationships as in the preceding, puts the focus on the subject *gizonak* by postponing the object noun until after the verb:

> gizonak (ES) ikusi du (ES+NS) txakurra (NS)   'it's the man who saw the dog'

Our next example shows this same pattern of focus applied to the object *txakurra* instead of to the subject:

> txakurra (NS) ikusi du (ES+NS) gizonak (ES)   'it's the dog that the man saw'

And the following shows that the subject *gizonak* can also be focused on by ordering it after the object noun so that in this way it appears before the verb:

> txakurra (NS) gizonak (ES) ikusi du (ES+NS)   'it's the man who saw the dog'

Finally, we may illustrate the normal word order when the subject noun is also in the ergative plural form:

> gizonak (EP) txakurra (NS) ikusi dute (EP+NS)   'the men saw the dog'

20. Now we may observe the same combination of ergative singular and nominative plural that we saw in sec. 15. The ambiguity in written or spoken accentless dialects that is present for one noun is not entirely resolved when two are present. A sentence with two nouns before the verb can be construed alternatively as embodying the neutral subject-object order, or else as putting focus on the subject with a reversal of the case relationships:

gizonak (ES/NP) txakurrak (NP/ES) ikusi ditu (ES+NP) 'the man saw the dogs/it's the dog that saw the men'

If one noun occurs after the verb, this clearly puts focus on the first noun, but this might still be either a nominative plural object or an ergative singular subject, with the opposite case-number combination being assigned to the final noun:

txakurrak (NP/ES) ikusi ditu (ES+NP) gizonak (ES/NP) 'it's the dogs that the man saw/it's the dog that saw the men'

Here again, in dialects marking the singular/plural distinction by accent placement, these ambiguities are avoided by the form of the noun itself, as illustrated by these contrasting sentences in the Guernica dialect:

gisonak (ES) txakúrrek (NP) ikusi deus (ES+NP) 'the man saw the dogs'

gisónak (NP) txakurrek (ES) ikusi deus (ES+NP) 'it's the dog that saw the men'

(Here, incidentally, the noun ending -ek on the word for 'dog' or 'dogs' is not a mark of the ergative plural, but merely shows the harmonizing influence of the preceding u [cf. sec. 8].)

21. It is a parallel situation with the sort of ambiguity when plural subject and object are combined that was exhibited by sec. 16. The word order of this Western example allows the same alternative interpretations of case and focus as did the first example of the preceding section:

gizonak (EP/NP) txakurrak (NP/EP) ikusi dituzte (EP+NP) 'the men saw the dogs/it's the dogs that saw the men'

Again this ambiguity is avoided in the Eastern dialects where the endings for these two plural cases are different:

> gizonek (EP) txakurrak (NP) ikusi dituzte (EP+NP) 'the men saw the dogs'
>
> gizonak (NP) txakurrek (EP) ikusi dituzte (EP+NP) 'it's the dogs that saw the men' (55).

22.   The following Western written example shows a different situation, wherein a non-finite verb form, the participle *bialduak* 'sent', occurs as subjective complement. Both the participle and the verb indicate plurality. The first word, *gizonak,* can be taken either as the subject of the sentence in the nominative plural, the sentence then meaning 'the men were sent', or else as the subject of the predication underlying the participle, in the ergative, either singular or plural, the sentence in this case meaning 'they were sent by the man' or '... by the men':

> gizonak (NP/ES/EP) bialduak (NP) izan dira 'the men were sent/they were sent by the man/they were sent by the men'

A dialect with numerically differentiated stress patterns will reduce

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(55) Lafon, "Expression de l'auteur de l'action en basque", pp. 198-199, asserts at first that it is semantic plausibility more than expected word order that tells us, for example, that *gatuak saguak jan ditu* means 'the cat ate the mice' rather than 'the mouse ate the cats', which is grammatically possible. He also states, though, that there is a rule that the agent noun is mentioned first, so that 'the cats saw the mice' would be apt to be expressed as *gatuak saguak ikusi dituzte* or *gatuak ikusi dituzte saguak.* On the predominance of the subject - object - verb order, see the figures in Rudolf P. G. de Rijk, "Is Basque an S. O. V. Language?", Fontes Linguae Vasconum 3 (1969), pp. 319-351, especially pp. 321-325. Discussions such as the present one of the ambiguity of isolated sentences are, of course, rather artificial in that, as Lafon also points out, the general context and situation usually makes clear which possible interpretation is the plausible one. Furthermore, if I am right about the relevance of focus in permuting word order (all my informants seem to agree that the situation is as I describe it), it should be realized that the preceding discourse will usually make clear also which word it is appropriate to focus on, as by what question a sentence is in answer to. The idea that the position of focus is that directly before the verb phrase (in affirmative sentences) is a commonplace of Basque grammatical literature; cf. the useful summary in De Rijk, op. cit., pp. 342-349. There may also be accentual marking of words in focus in some dialects.

the number of ambiguous possibilities here, as shown by these examples from the Vizcayan dialect of Guernica:

> gísonak (NP) biálduek (NP) isen dire 'the men were sent'
> gisonak (ES) bialduek (NP) isen dire 'they were sent by the man'
> gísonak (EP) bialduek (NP) isen dire 'they were sent by the men'

When the participle stands alone as the complement, it retains its plural accentuation (first example); when it is part of the same phrase with the preceding noun, it loses this accent (last two examples). Another set of examples of the same type (where the shorter participle, *jának* 'eaten', makes the distinctions easier to hear):

> árraiñek (NP) jának (NP) isen dire 'the fish (pl.) were eaten'
> arraiñek (ES) janak (NP) isen dire 'they were eaten by the fish (sg.)'
> árraiñek (EP) janak (NP) isen dire 'they were eaten by the fish (pl.)'

An Eastern dialect with a distinctive ending for the ergative plural would overtly distinguish the last members of these sets from the other two.

23. In some of the cases we have looked at, ambiguity was reduced or eliminated by an indication coming from the transitive verb of the same clause as to the number of its subject or object. The number of a noun may, of course, be indicated in a variety of other ways by its occurrence in a broader context, including other preceding clauses, such as by its occurrence with a numeral or with an intransitive verb, where its own ending as well as the verb would have shown its number (cf. sec. 13). The following Western written examples belong to one such case:

> etorri dan gizonak (ES) ikusi ditu (ES+NP) 'the man who came saw them'
> etorri diran gizonak (NP) ikusi ditu (ES+NP) 'he saw the men who came'

As we saw in sec. 15, the last three words, *gizonak ikusi ditu,* would by themselves constitute an ambiguous clause, but here there is an

introductory relative clause with an intransitive verb, which removes the ambiguity by indicating the number of the noun that it modifies. A similar reduction of ambiguity would operate between a transitive subordinate clause and an intransitive main clause, distinguishing, for example, between the following:

> ikusi ditun (ES+NP) gizona (NS) etorri da 'the man who saw them came'
>
> ikusi ditun (ES+NP) gizonak (NP) etorri dira 'the men whom he saw came'

(where the relative clause has been formed with deletion of ambiguous *gizonak*). As we have seen (sec. 16), such an indication of number does not always resolve ambiguities:

> etorri diran gizonak (EP/NP) ikusi dituzte (EP+NP) 'the men who came saw them/they saw the men who came'

24. The choice between nominative and ergative, unlike that between singular and plural, is limited to a single clause, and does not show agreement to a wider context. The following Western written example represents a different class of ambiguity, wherein the context makes clear that a noun must represent a certain case, but does not delimit its number. The conjoined nouns must be in the ergative case, since the noun phrase as a whole is ergative plural, which the verb indicates by allowing for a plural subject but not a plural object, but the number of each individual noun is left unspecified:

> gizonak (ES/EP) eta txakurrak (ES/EP) ikusi dute (EP+NS) 'the man/men and the dog/dogs saw it'

Our next examples show the resolution of this ambiguity for the first of the two nouns by the number agreement of the possessive pronoun, *bere* 'his' vs. *beren* 'their', which indicates the number of its antecedent:

> gizonak (ES) eta bere txakurrak (ES/EP) ikusi dute (EP+NS) 'the man and his dog/dogs saw it'
>
> gizonak (EP) eta beren txakurrak (ES/EP) ikusi dute (EP+NS) 'the men and their dog/dogs saw it'

In Eastern dialects the number of a noun in the ergative is, of course, shown by its ending, as suggested by the following example:

> gizonek (EP) eta txakurrak (ES) ikusi dute (EP+NS) 'the men and the dog saw it'

25. We have been sampling aspects of a delicately balanced system, as so often in languages, wherein a moderate amount of syncretism between potentially important case endings is kept tolerable because of evidence provided by the total context, with indications as to number coming from the agreement of verb affixes and of other classes of words such as possessive pronouns, plus evidence from earlier occurrences of the same noun in contexts where modifying words or its own ending would unambiguously show number, and indications as to case coming from the choice between intransitive and transitive verbs and from the person and number possibilities left open for subject and object by the endings on the finite transitive verb. There is no reason to assume that the system is either insufficient or unstable. This seems to be one more reminder that a language is an integrated system in which each part finds its appropriate place.

A Note on Old Labourdin Accentuation

Luis Michelena

Proof-reading is always something of a chore, but I have found it, for once, a rewarding exercice in the case of W. J. Jacobsen's paper, published in this volume. So rewarding, indeed, that, as soon as I had finished my task, I was, almost unwillingly, ensnared into writing this short note.

It is not easy to understand how Jacobsen made his way through the inextricable maze of (apparently, at least) contradictory statements, the stuff the hard core of Basque accentology is made of. Perhaps, the mind and the ears of a non-native investigator were necessary to take a decisive step towards introducing some order in an area so full of vexing problems. The subtle complexities that face us here did not only bemuse Schuchardt, as the author says, they also bemuse us natives.

Jacobsen's study is all the more interesting in view of his concentration on morphology, in particular, on the extent of syncretism found almost everywhere in the Basque noun declension. I have no intention, however, of lingering on this aspect of his very convincing treatment (1).

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(1) The temptation to let some casual remarks drop is, however, too strong. Is it certain, as the author says, that the ergative singular *alabarak* (from *alaba* 'daughter') is used in the Salazar valley? I have heard there, as others heard before me, the abs. sing. *alabara,* but, now that I come to think of it, I don't remember having heard —nor read, for that matter— in the singular anything like ergative *alabarak, dative alabarari,* etc. A prudent guess would be that the formal distinction might be restricted to the absolutive (*alaba/alabara*), but Salamanca is not a good place to prove or to disprove it.

At variance with one of Jacobsen's statements is the fact that only the pitch contour differentiates singular from plural in Renteria (and in Oyarzun as well, I think): *gizonan* 'of the man' / *gizonàn* 'of the men', *gizonai* 'to the man' / *gizonai* 'to the men', and so on. It is noteworthy that Gavel and others were reluctant to postulate *-ag* for the plural because the expected dative form, -ai < *-ag-i, is found only in the Western dialects, whereas Labourdin and Low-Navarrese have -ei: the easternmost form is -ér, which seems to be irreducible to a common prototype. Yet it is a well known fact that the alternation -ai/-ei is frequent in Basque: *eztaiak/ezteiak* 'wedding' (*plurale tantum*), *izai/izei* 'birch-tree', *igitai/igitei* 'sickle', *gai/gei* 'matter', cf. general *gatik*, Bisc. *gaitik* 'for the sake of'. The comparison with *gehiago* 'more' (*gai/gei* means also 'able'), superlative *gehien,* points to a word ending in -ei, whose diphthong has been lowered to -ai, even in the Central area, where *gatik* must come via dissimilation from *gai-tik*, itself a clear ablative of *gai.*

After having read Jacobsen's essay we are able to state that in the Basque speaking area there are, its exiguous extension notwithstanding, several accentual systems, whose geographical limits can be established, at least in the broadest outline. There is, needless to say, a sizable no-man's land, where information is utterly lacking.

Only noun forms will be considered here, but noun forms in a broad sense, including pronouns and nonfinite verb forms: participles, radicals and verbal nouns. In addition to isolated words, short noun phrases and verb phrases will be considered: *hiru gizon* 'three men', *izan da* 'he (she, it) has been', *ekarri du* 'he has brought it', etc. It has seemed best to adhere to modern Basque conventional orthography, to the extent that it does not cause misunderstanding. I must add that I will abstain from all but occasional attempts to characterize articulatory, acoustic or perceptual aspects of the far diverging Basque accentuation types.

It appears that four well-established types have been distinguished.

Type I. This type is prevailing in a Central-Western area, comprising most of Guipuzcoa, a considerable portion of Biscay, extending to the West as far as Bilbao, and some, but by no means all, Navarrese regions bordering on Guipuzcoa.

Noun forms fall, as far as the accentual pattern goes, into two classes: words belonging to the unmarked class, to put it in Jacobsen's terms, characterized by a sustained accent, and words with a marked accent, signaled by a falling contour. The difference between the two is clear, at least among the older generation to which obviously the present writer belongs, even if the manner in which it is realized may vary widely from one place to another within this area.

The unmarked type deserves to be called so, since it is the pattern to which is adjusted the pronunciation of the bulk of the indefinite and definite singular nouns. The only function of this pattern is to signal [—plural]. In this case, every orthographic accent can, therefore, be zeroed out, following Jacobsen's proposal. It remains to single out the nouns belonging to the marked class (2). The latter consists of, on the one hand, all plurals, and, on the other, some scattered items, rather refractory to classification: namely, loanwords, not all of them recent, certain suffixed nouns, nouns with spatial connotation, and some others. So in Renteria, in the definite singu-

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(2) After Larramendi, Jacobsen's notational advice was consistently adopted by Lardizabal (1855), etc., but the graphic accent served only to distinguish the plural forms: *guizónac,* absolutive or ergative plural, as against *guizonac,* ergative singular, etc.

lar, *basuà* 'drinking-glass' vs. *basua* 'woods', *bestià* 'other' vs. *estia* 'intestine', *lotiyà* 'sleepy' vs. *loriya* 'fat', *eltzià* 'grasping' vs. *eltzia* 'pot', *tokiyà* 'place' and synonymous *lekuà*, *aurrià* 'front', *atzià* 'back' (3). There is, all in all, a fair amount of agreement among the local varieties, in assigning the same word to the first or the second accentual class. The agreement is almost unanimous when the noun is plural (4).

Type II. It is an acknowledged fact that the North-Eastern Souletin-Roncalese accentual system differs considerably from the Western pattern we have just attempted to describe. This type strikes the Western hearer as being kindred to the Romance stress type; more similar, perhaps, to the (Occitan) Gascon type than to the Castilian Spanish type.

The position of the accent is regulated taking the last syllable of the word as the starting point. Oxytony is exceptional, and, in order to explain the present situation, it seems sufficient to postulate an older stage, common to both subdialects, in which isolated words were uniformly stressed on the penult, principally with the exception of some compounds and of a greater number of loanwords. It is, in any case, the final stress that clearly singles out a minority of final-stressed nominal and verbal forms from an overwhelming majority of other stress types.

The same system, or something very similar to it, underlies the language of Leiçarraga (1571), born at Briscous, located to the East of the sparsely populated mountain ridge named in French *landes* or *bois de Hasparren*. We may draw this inference from the fact that, as a rule, accent marks are only written in his works when the stress falls on the final syllable. It is not too far-fetched to conclude, therefore, that the stressed syllable was otherwise automatically determined.

According to Lafon, it also prevailed at Bardos (5), some 30 km. to the East of Bayonne, in the Low-Navarrese area of Cize, next to the Northern borderline of the Basque speaking domain. It was fairly

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(3) It is perhaps significant that some of these local nouns, if not all, are used as postpositions (*elizaren aurrean* 'before the church', etc.) and/or last elements of compound nouns: *ikaztoki* 'coal cellar'. It is widely thought, too, that the *-e* of *aurre*, *atze* is secondary, arising from *atz-e-an* 'in the rear', *atz-e-tik* 'from the rear', etc., where *e*-insertion is obligatory.

(4) This twofold division is, in a round-about way, reminiscent of the distribution of tone I and tone II in Swedish words. For a historical account, see Bengt Sigurd, "Generative grammar and historical linguistics", *Acta linguistica Hafniensia* 10 (1966), 35-48.

(5) There were 1500 inhabitants in 1934, the date of Lafon's field work there: "Sur la voyelle *ü* en basque", *BSL* 57 (1962), 83-102.

extensive, outside of Bardos, in other villages where the same sub-dialect is spoken.

There is no reason to conceal the fact that the Roncalese accentuation, as attested in Isaba and Uztarroz, has strayed a long way from the above reconstructed pattern. So, for instance, at least in the declension of certain stems, non-final stress is not necessarily placed on the penultimate. As a consequence, the columnal (paradigmatic) accentuation of the definite singular, to which the absolutive plural always conforms, contrasts strikingly with the marginal (6) or desinential stress of all other case forms of the plural. From *séme* 'son', we have, with non syllabic *i*,

	SINGULAR	PLURAL
Absolutive	*sémia*	*sémiak*
Ergative	*sémiak*	*semék*
Genitive	*sémiaren*	*semén*
Dative	*sémiari*	*semér*, etc.

Likewise, from *gizon* 'man', sing. *gízona, gízonaren;* erg. sing. and abs. pl. *gízonak,* but, in all other case forms of the plural, erg. *gizonék,* gen. *gizonén,* etc.

Type III. The accentual pattern that can be found in several regions included in the Southern variety of the High-Navarrese dialect (7) does not coincide with any of the systems so far outlined. It is often said that Basque in the mouths of High Navarrese people «sounds like Spanish», and, if the inquiry proceeds further, the statement is substantiated on the grounds that the difference between stressed and unstressed syllables is very similar there to what can be observed among speakers of Castilian Spanish. This remark is valid as well, as far as my observations go, for the Low-Navarrese subdialect of the Salazar valley, south of the frontier.

There is hardly a doubt about where the stress falls in isolated words or even in long sentences. But, surprisingly enough, this clearly discernible stress does not have, or so it seems, any distinctive function whatsoever. It is, at once, more audible (and, therefore,

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(6) These labels (*accentuation columnale, accentuation marginale*), current in Kurylowicz's works, go back to Saussure's famous papers on Lithuanian intonations.

(7) Prince Bonaparte's "Southern" (and "Northern" for that matter), as applied to High Navarrese, is a misnomer. It would be more adequate, albeit not quite exact, to speak of Eastern vs. Western High-Navarrese.

easier to define) and less meaningful than the intonation patterns
that speakers of Type I are accustomed to.

Here is a scanty sample from Eugui, to the North of the Esteribar
valley, not far from the French frontier (8). In the absolutive singu-
lar, a sufficiently clear stress pattern stands out. From *a*-stems (i.e.
from -*a* + art. -*a*): *bésta* 'feast', *burdíña* 'iron', *oñaztúre* 'lightning',
órma 'ice', *tipúle* 'onion', *úde* 'summer'. From consonant stems: *íntze*
'dew' (monosyllabic stem *intz*); *abrátsa* 'rich', *asteléna* 'Monday',
elúrre 'snow', *izótza* 'hoarfrost', *larrazkéna* 'autumn'. With stem final
non-syllabic *e, i, o, u* (9): *árrie* 'stone', *ilérgie* 'moon', *láñoa* 'fog',
négue 'winter', *órdue* 'hour', *sásie* 'thorn-bush', *xekálea* 'rye', etc.
Only once did I write down *jínkuen* [ji-] *paxá* 'rainbow', from the
a-stem *paxa* (cf. Sp. *faja*), lit. 'God's girdle'.

To put it another way, the absolutive singular regularly takes
its stress on the next-to-last syllable. But it should be kept in mind
that it is the *present* penult we are speaking about. At an older stage,
in all likelihood, the vowel of the penultimate syllable of *árrie* was
i, just as that of *izótza* is still *o*. We are dealing, in other words,
with a stress system with a very short-lived memory: contrast Salazar
árdo, árdoa 'wine', *béso, bésoa* 'arm', with Ronc. *ardáû, ardáûa*, vs.
béso, bésua, Soul. *ardû', ardû'a*, vs. *béso, besúa*, from older *ardano,
beso (+ -*a*).

With the same proviso, the absolutive plural does not seem to run
counter to the singular: *iáuteak* 'carnival feasts', *kintókoak* 'those of
Quinto (Real)', *matxútxek* 'mulberries', *a*-stem. Indefinite absoluti-
ves, mainly of consonant stems, may be stressed on the last syllable:
ilún 'dark', sing. *ilúne, zenbat urté?* 'how many years?', where account
must be taken of the effects of the interrogative contour.

Several indications point to a paradigmatic accentuation. In the
partitive, *eztút úrik* 'I have no water' (stem *ur*, abs. sing. *úra*); in
the inessive, *góizean* 'in the morning' (stem *goiz*, abs. sing. *góiza*).
The stressed syllable is fixed with respect to the place of accent
either in the indefinite or in the definite absolutive. For the last
case, compare (*eztut*) *ástirik* '(I have no) time', where *asti* would
not differ from *astia* with regard to the place of stress, *arrázoin dúzu*

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(8) I am availing myself of the materials recorded there by Professor Ana
María Echaide, during a short trip, from two informants, aged 36 and 73. In spite
of their belonging to different generations, their answers to the same question
agree remarkably well.

(9) It should be noted that non-syllabic *e, o* do not raise the following -*a*,
as do *i* and *u*. It is puzzling that both informants, as I heard their answers,
seem to pronounce *burdiña*, with -*a*, not -*e*.

'you are right', (*eztuzu*) *arrázoñik* '(you are) wrong'; in verb phrases, *arpátu'ut* 'I have taken it', from the participle *arpátu*. It is not by chance that the leading role has been conferred upon *arrázoin* and *arpátu*: the former is more often used in the indefinite absolutive than most substantives, and this is also the case for all participles.

The stress of the basic form does not seem to be retracted farther than the penultimate. The only counterexamples available in my notes are *mátsoko'at* 'a bunch of grapes', whose abs. sing. would be *mátsokoa, and *mástegiya* 'vineyard', two obvious compounds of *mats*, abs. sing. *mátsa*, from older *ma(h)ats.* + *oko* and *-tegi*.

Type IV. This last accentual system recognized is that prevailing on the Southern bank of the lower reaches of the Bidasoa river: Fuenterrabia, Irun, and the Cinco Villas (in Basque, Bortzerrieta) of Navarre (10). It extends at least as far as Beinza-Labayen, some 10 km. to the Southwest of Santesteban, where I have noted down several times, for instance, *abisatu* (cf. Spanish *avisar, avisado* 'to inform') realized as [abí:ʃtu]. It is plain that *abístu dut* from *abisatu dut* in Beinza-Labayen is strikingly at variance with *arpátu'ut* from *arrapátu dut* in Eugui.

This Bidasoan stress system clearly distinguishes itself from the neighboring ones by several remarkable epiphenomena: great difference of intensity between accented and unaccented syllables, lengthening of the stressed vowels, frequent loss of posttonic syllables, etc. Father Larramendi noticed it in the XVIIIth century (11), and so did Bonaparte and Azkue later. But it was Nils M. Holmer, not so many years ago, who discovered the rule governing the distribution of accented syllables.

In isolated words as well as in short phrases, the stress falls, as a rule, on the second syllable of the word, irrespective of its length, and irrespective also, what is perhaps more remarkable, of the position of stress in Spanish: *Akílinok*, erg. sing. (Irun), *karákola*, abs. sing. (Lesaca, Vera), *primábera* (Lesaca), etc., against Sp. *Aquilino, caracol, primavera*, etc.

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(10) One of the points studied by Jacobsen, Oyarzun, after the speech of Jon Oñatibia, lies on the borderline of this area, but outside of it.

(11) *Corografía... de Guipúzcoa*, published by J. I. Tellechea Idigoras, San Sebastián 1969, p. 301: "En Beterri son conocidos en Fuenterrabia por *icusiricanen, oraindicanen,* y así otros, por *oraindic, icusiric*; *pimpilimpausa* por *inguma, micheleta, ulifarfalla*. En Irún lo mismo, y su particular acento *arrígarri* y no *arrigarri*, como en otras partes."

There is no trespassing, however, beyond the stem boundaries: the abs. sing. of *lo* 'sleep' is *lúa* (Vera), that of *untz* 'ivy', *úntza;* cf. also abs. sing. *íntza,* [xája] 'feast', etc. The partitive of *ur* is *úrik* (*eztút úrik* 'I have no water'), contrasting in Lesaca with [estútembórik], *eztut denbor(ar)ik,* 'I have no time'. Cf. also, from Vera, *badút úra* 'I have (some) water'.

This is, as it were, the current, regular type. But, along with it, we find, as elsewhere, an anomalous type, stressed on the first syllable: *bágua* 'beech-tree' (Lesaca, Vera), *bésta* 'feast' (Aranaz), *órma* 'ice', *píkua* 'fig', *txára* (cf. Sp. *jara, jaro*), *txílkua* 'navel' (Lesaca, Vera); *áurriak, átziak* 'the first, the last (dancer)', erg. sing. (Fuenterrabia). Together with a certain amount of divergence, there is also a significant agreement between irregularly accented words in this area and in other zones. The correspondences embrace classes of words rather than individual nouns: i.e. loanwords, terms with local connotations, «expressive» words (*txilko* 'navel', *malko* 'tear'), etc.

After this cursory survey of well-known facts, necessary as an introduction, it is time to consider whether at least one more accent system, to be called henceforth type V, can be attested in Basque. We are referring to the stress marks written in the manuscripts of Pierre d'Urte, born in St.-Jean-de-Luz in the last quarter of the xviith century, exiled for religious reasons to England, where he died, although the date of his death is unknown.

Pierre d'Urte's extant works, published or unpublished (12), are not available in Salamanca. These remarks are, therefore, based only on the meager, but highly selective, sample included as an appendix in Pierre Lafitte, «L'art poétique basque d'Arnaud d'Oyhénart (1665)», *Gure Herria* 39 (1967), 195-234.

According to Lafitte's material, several features seem to stand out clearly:

a) D'Urte's accentuation is overtly paradigmatic, irrespective of the categories of case, definiteness or number: *arté, artéan, artéko, artétik, artétikan; egúnean, egúnetik, egúnera, egúneko; mundúan, mundútik, mundúko;* pl. *jainkóek, seméek, arrótzen, batzúen, jen-*

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(12) *The earliest translation of the Old Testament into the Basque language (a fragment),* comprising the whole Genesis and the first chapters of Exodus, Oxford 1894, seems to have been more carefully published than his *Grammaire cantabrique basque (1712),* Bagnères-de-Bigorre 1900. There is also an unpublished Latin-Basque dictionary (it ends abruptly in the letter *A*), but, if memory does not fail me, it does not provide accent marks.

déen, anáiei, emázteei, hegáztinei, neskátoei. In deverbatives, indef. *hartú* 'taken' (cf. *neurtú*, Vera), pl. *hartúak; hartúrik, hartzéko, hartzéra; asmátzera, jakíteko, zahárturik.*

b)   With a restriction that will be subsequently stated (cf. *d*, below), in this, the main class, the accent falls, as a rule, on the second syllable of each stem. If the stem has but one syllable (*gaitz, lur, su, zur*, etc.), the accent must remain word-initial, and it cannot jump over the juncture between the stem and the suffix. In other words, the situation is the same we found in our fourth, or Bidasoan, type.

c)   Exactly as in type IV, this accentuation is not inherent to all noun stems. We find again a minor class stressed on the first syllable: loanwords such as *grázia, tállu*, erg. pl. *zámek* 'burdens' (cf., too, *alkatérna* 'tar', and *entssaláda*, not quoted by Lafitte, 'salad'), but also indigenous words such as erg. pl. *gúziek*, instr. pl. *gúziez* (*gúzi* 'all'), *kúme, lúze* 'long', *sábel* 'belly', *tóki* 'place', *tégi*. According to Azkue, s. v. *-kume* «cría, petit (d'un animal)», «no se dice *kume* aisladamente». As well as *kume*, it would be preferable to treat *tegi* as a suffix, rather than as a free form (13); *toki*, too, is often found as the last element of compounds. It has an anomalous intonation in Renteria, *tokiyà*, but not in Lesaca and Vera: *tokíya.* I cannot imagine how the place of stress in *lúze* or *sábel* (*gúzi* is a quantifier, after all) could be accounted for.

d)   When a word (i.e. stem plus suffixes) had more than four syllables, the stress could not be retracted beyond the antepenult: *bizkitártean* 'meanwhile', *ben(e)dikátua* 'blessed'. The possibility that the second syllable of the word be stressed is excluded.

e)   Lafitte states positively that certain postpositions (*gánik, gánat, gátik, dánik*) take over the stress from the noun stem: it falls, as can be seen, on their first syllable. The same is true, moreover, of certain derivational suffixes: *-gárri* in *miragárri* 'wonderful, marvellous' (14), *-tzálle* in *sakrifikatzálle* 'sacrificer' and, as is also likely on other grounds, *-zióne* in *benedizióne* 'blessing', *esplikazióne* 'explanation', etc. Other suffixes perhaps draw the stress nearer to them, if we are to judge from *ihizíki* '(caro) ferina', from *ihizi* 'wild beast'.

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(13) Vera *mastégiya* 'the vineyard', with counter-etymological position of the accent (older **maáts*), against Lesaca *mástegiya.* Cf. *mátsoko'at* from Eugui, above. I heard *matspórka* 'bunch of grapes' in Lesaca, but there is in my notes a secondary stress on *mats-*.

(14) It is the same suffix we find in its synonymous *arrigarri*, quoted from Larramendi, above, footnote 11.

Another question must now be dealt with. Is our type V entitled
to stand out as a full-fledged system, or is it, on the contrary,
secondary, deriving from the former ones? In case of the latter, the
most likely candidates are the neighboring types III and IV, and,
to the best of my knowledge, it is the Bidasoan type IV which
stands closer to it. As a matter of fact, it suffices to add a later rule
to obtain, with type IV as input, the general outline of type V.
I would suggest that historically a new rule was actually introduced
in the Labourdin coast to the effect that stress could only fall on
the last three syllables of a word.

We are all familiar, from Spanish or Greek, e.g., with this kind
of limitation on stress. If we compare the root-stressed thematic
conjugation in Old Indic (first class presents) and Greek, we disco-
ver a total agreement in *bhárāmas : phéromes* (*-men*) 'we bear', *bhá-
ranti : phéronti* (*-ousi*) 'they bear', etc. (15). But, since the positioning
of Greek accent is severely restricted, the closest it can approximate
the OI present middle participle *bháramānas*, gen. *bháramānasya*,
both with cerebral *n*, is *pherómenos, pheroménoio* (*-ménou*).

In d'Urte's translation, there are series like *aldéan, artéan,
artáldean, bitártean*, but *bizkitártean* < **bizkítartean*. Or, in parti-
ciples, *ezárri, isúri, hartú, ezárria, isúria*, pl. *hartúak, idúkia, flakátua*,
but *bendikátua* (sic apud Lafitte) < **bendíkatua* or **benédikatua*.
As a guess, I would predict that the radical *madariká*, quoted by
Lafitte, is followed in the text by a finite verb of two syllables, such
as *madariká beza/bitza* 'maledicat eum/eam (eos/eas) Deus'. Like-
wise, next to *hiré dituk* 'they are thine', or *bi semé* 'two sons' (pro-
bably *bí semé*, with the accent mark zeroed out as redundant in the
monosyllabic numeral), there is *hire sémea* 'thy son', from a proxi-
mate **hiré semea*, issued from *hiré seméa*: it would be wasteful to
add the asterisk, since *hiré* is attested here, as well as *semé, seméak,
seméek*. The hypothetical link is easily explained by assuming that
the second member of a close-knit noun phrase lost its own stress.

As far as accent goes, in our type IV the syllables are counted
from the beginning of the word. This was also the case in the speech
of Pierre d'Urte, but with a restriction involving the last syllable:
stress could not fall too far from it. By contrast, counting goes the

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(15) This agreement is one of these "mirages de la linguistique comparée"
Kurylowicz is so fond of commenting on. Greek is not the best witness to the
ancient place of stress in the finite verb. Cf. O. Szemerényi, *Einführung in die
vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft*, Darmstadt 1970, p. 74: "Beim *Verbum* dagegen
ist von einigen Ausnahmen abgesehen das alte System radikal geändert worden,
indem der Akzent nach den äussersten Möglichkeiten des Dreisilbengesetz
zurückgezogen wird; also *phéromen, pherómetha* usw."

other way round in type III: it is the end of the word, together with the last syllable of the noun stem, which must be taken into account in this system, just as in type I. In order to visualize the effects of this divergence in the phonological makeup of some words, it will be best to compare several High-Navarrese forms with their cognates recorded in Lesaca and Vera:

	EUGUI	BIDASOA
'winter'	négue	negúa
'Monday'	asteléna	astélena Les., astélna Vera
'autumn'	larrazkéna	udázkena
'Saturday'	larunbéta	larúnta

Eugui *négue* is bisyllabic; *negúa,* on the contrary, has three syllables. In written Basque, the standard, archaic-like, definite forms of these words are: *negua, astelehena, -azkena, larunbata.*

These facts set apart the High-Navarrese type from type IV, once also found, in the variety we have called type V, to the North of the Bidasoa, along the Labourdin coast. They bring it, up to a point, near the Souletin-Roncalese type, in so far at least as it is the end of the word which is employed as a steady landmark to mete out the place of stress. But type II remains up to this day sensitive to vowel contraction, so that the position of stress may be an overt mark of differences in number or in definiteness, the latter especially in *a*-stems: cf. Leiçarraga *Eliçá ezten Eliça* 'lest the Church be not (a) Church'. Differences in number, let us remember, but not in definiteness, are overtly marked only in types I-II, though it is not easy to see how they could be historically connected. Type I, as it stands, is, to say the least, a historical enigma.

The plural, with the exception of the absolutive, had achieved in type II, by means of its «heavy», stress-bearing, suffixes, a perfectly regular paradigmatic accentuation: *gizonék, gizonén, gizonér, gizonéz, gizonéki* (16). The singular and, above all, the indefinite, seem to waver between the two poles of a marginal accentuation fixed on the penultimate, on the one hand, and a paradigmatic one, on the other. This vacillation existed already in Souletin in the

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(16) Local cases, as I have attempted to show elsewhere, form a clearly differentiated subsystem (with at least one heavy non-plural suffix) within Basque declension.

xviith century, according to Oihenart's testimony (17), who uses in one of his poems, e.g., *khantóretan, kóblatan,* indefinite, to translate 'in hymnis et canticis'. He speaks also of a host of «mots glissans» (i.e. *glissants* 'slippery'), whose penutimate, being *anceps,* could bear the stress or pass it on to the preceding syllable.

There is some rashness in my using a tiny sample of d'Urte's orthographic accentuation, obtained via Lafitte's article, in view of the fact that all his extant works, the published as well as the unpublished, are available to me. That it to say, they would be available, were I not to stay at Salamanca in this season. I dare promise that a thoroughgoing study of this matter is forthcoming in the near future.

There are, though, more cogent tasks in the domain of Basque accentology, and there is now in our country, for the first time, a young generation of scholars, graduate and undergraduate, eager to find, as I have so often heard, suitable topics for their linguistic researches. My advice, for some of them, would be that accentual themes, although difficult to tackle, occupy an outstanding place among the best and supposedly most fruitful subjects. There is no possibility of overlap here. Those who are prone to the written letter have at their disposal, not to speak of Leiçarraga, d'Urte or Larramendi, the published and unpublished works of Lizarraga de Elcano (last quarter of the xviiith century), unmatched landmark in the history of High-Navarrese accentuation. Examples such as *billátzen, cillégui, ollárrac, soñécoa, eztaitzen aguértu bére óbrac,* etc., seem to hint that our type III is not so recent, after all.

Those who prefer the spoken language have what the French call *l'embarras du choix.* Almost everything remains to be done (18).

Salamanca.

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(17) Besides his *Art poétique,* whose publication by Lafitte has been mentioned above, there is a book by Oihenart which cannot be dispensed with in this matter: the 2nd ed. of his *Notitia utriusque Vasconiae, tum Ibericae tum Aquitanicae,* Paris 1656. Spanish translation: *Noticia de las dos Vasconias,* San Sebastián 1929.
(18) I am heavily indebted to my friends Dr. Rudolf P. G. de Rijk and Dr. Michael K. Brame for corrections in the first English draft of this paper.

Formation of the Present Participle

in Basque [1]

Quentin Pizzini

In forming the present participle of a verb in Basque (2) the suffix *-tzen* or *-ten* (3) is added to the infinitive of the verb, usually with some concomitant modifications of that infinitive. Informal statements of when to use *-tzen* rather than *-ten* or of what changes, if any, must be made to the infinitive are not difficult to make. However, there are some interesting difficulties involved in trying to formalize the necessary rules. I will first present a list of repre-

(2) In this paper I will be dealing with the Guipuzcoan dialect of Basque.

(3) The system of obstruents is fairly unusual. The orthographic elements *p, t, k, b, d,* and *g* present no problems; the orthographic elements *s, z, x, ts, tz,* and *tx* are explained as follows:

s	voiceless apico-alveolar fricative
z	voiceless dorso-alveolar fricative
x	voiceless dorso-alveo-palatal fricative
ts	voiceless apico-alveolar affricate
tz	voiceless dorso-alveolar affricate
tx	voiceless dorso-alveo-palatal affricate

sentative data; following that I will state informally the operations that are involved in deriving the present participles.

	Infinitive	*Present Participle*	*Gloss*
1.	atera	ateratzen	take out
2.	erre	erretzen	burn
3.	igo	igotzen	go up
4.	etorri	etortzen	come
5.	estali	estaltzen	cover
6.	ibilli	ibiltzen	walk
7.	ipiñi	ipintzen	put
8.	erosi	erosten	buy
9.	berezi	bereizten	separate
10.	idatzi	idazten	write
11.	txarretsi	txarresten	vituperate
12.	itxi	ixten	close
13.	ebaki	ebakitzen	cut
14.	jaurti	jaurtitzen	throw
15.	ikutu	ikutzen	touch
16.	arkitu	arkitzen	meet
17.	apaindu	apaintzen	decorate
18.	oldoztu	oldozten	think
19.	jan	jaten	eat

INFORMAL RULES

a) If the infinitive ends in -*i*, drop the *i* (forms 4-12) unless the *i* is preceded by a stop (forms 13, 14).

b) If the infinitive ends in -*tu* or -*du* (4), drop -*tu* or -*du* (forms 15-18).

c) If after the application of a) or b) the verb ends in a sonorant, add -*tzen* (forms 1-7, 13-17); if the verb ends in a non-sonorant, add -*ten* (forms 8-12, 18).

Exception: If the infinitive ends in -*n*, drop the *n* and add -*ten* (form 19).

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(4) The suffix -*tu* is commonly added to nouns or adjectives to form verbs; this suffix is realized as -*du* if the stem ends in *l* or *n*.

apain; elegant	apaindu; to adorn
gogor; hard	gogortu; to harden
otz; cold	oztu; to make cold
urrun; distant	urrundu; to go away

d)   If after the application of a) or b) the verb ends in an affricate, change that affricate to its corresponding fricative (forms 10-12).

Three forms in this set of data exhibit further characteristics which require comment but which aren't central to the discussion to follow. Forms 6 and 7 have palatal consonants in the infinitives but not in the present participles. (Orthographic *ll* and *ñ* represent palatal consonants.) The reason for this is that *l* and *n* are palatalized when they are intervocalic and preceded by *i*; this condition is satisfied in the infinitival forms of 6 and 7, but not in the present participle forms. The underlying segment in both cases is the non-palatal consonant. Form 9 manifests a glide in the present participle which is not present in the infinitive. I have no other examples of this phenomenon, so I merely point out its existence, without speculating on whether this exemplifies a sub-regularity or is simply idiosyncratic.

Let's consider first the variation between *-tzen* and *-ten*. It is reasonable to assume that these two forms derive from a common underlying source. If we assume that *-tzen* more closely reflects the underlying form, then we need a rule that converts *tz* into *t* in the appropriate environments; conversely, if we assume that *-ten* more closely reflects the underlying form, we need a rule to convert *t* into *tz* in the appropriate environment. If the statement of the environment for one version of the rule were less complicated than the statement of the other, then we would have some reason to prefer the rule with the less complicated environment. However, the environments are equally simple.

20.   *-ten* → *-tzen*/[+ Sonorant] ——

21.   *-tzen* → *-ten*/[— Sonorant] ——

Another way to try to determine which is the underlying form is to appeal to markedness theory. A rule which changes a more highly marked form into a less highly marked one is to be preferred to a rule which does the contrary. On this reasoning we should take *-tzen* to be the underlying form, since the manner of articulation of *tz* is more marked than that of *t*.

Additional support for the position that *-tzen* is the underlying form is that we have instances of *t* following both sonorants and non-sonorants, while we never find instances of *tz* following non-sonorants.

22. kal*te*; damage
23. e*t*a; and
24. as*t*o; donkey
25. iz*t*er; thigh

If we write the rule such that it converts *t* into *tz*, then we have a rule converting a potentially acceptable form into another acceptable form —there is nothing basically wrong with having *ateraten* as the present participle of *atera*. On the other hand, if we have the rule *-tzen* → *-ten* the rule only applies when the form that would result if we didn't apply the rule would be unacceptable —the form *oldoztzen* is unacceptable as the present participle of *oldoztu* because the cluster *ztz* is not permissible in Basque. If we accept *-tzen* as the underlying form, we have an explanation for the existence of a rule converting this suffix into *-ten* in some environments —the rule is necessary if we are to avoid producing certain surface consonant clusters which are unacceptable in the language. If, on the other hand, we accept *-ten* as the underlying form, there is no apparent reason for the existence of the rule *-ten* → *-tzen*.

Due to these considerations I conclude that the underlying form of the present participle suffix is *-tzen*, and that this is converted into *-ten* when it is suffixed to a form ending in a non-sonorant, i.e., rule 21 applies.

We next turn our attention to the changes that the infinitives undergo when forming the present participle. First, concerning the suffix *-tu/-du*, rather than requiring a rule which deletes this suffix, I suggest that the present participle suffix is added directly to the stem. That is, rather than saying that *-tzen* is added to, for example, *apaindu*, with *-du* being subsequently deleted, I propose that *-tzen* is added directly to the stem *apain-*.

The same tack might be taken with verbs ending in *i*. One might claim that this *i* is itself a verb suffix, like *-tu*, and that *-tzen* is added only to the verb stem, in which case we could avoid an *i*-deletion rule. But this runs into problems with forms like *ebaki/ebakitzen*; presumably the same *i* is involved with both of these forms, but if we claim that *-tzen* is added directly to *ebak-*, then an *i* must be inserted epenthetically to break up the impermissible consonant cluster *ktz*. However, I consider this approach to be incorrect. For one thing, it is suspicious that the epenthetic vowel should happen to be the same as the vowel of the verb suffix. More significant is the fact that vowel epenthesis is uncommon in Basque. A more common way to eliminate impermissible clusters is by deletion.

Consider, for example, adverb formation; one way to form adverbs is to add the suffix -*ki* to an adjective or noun.

26. eder; beautiful ederki; beautifully
27. gizon; man gizonki; manly

But if this suffix is added to a form that ends in a stop, then this stop is deleted; the cluster is not broken up by epenthesis.

28. polit; pretty *politki
       poliki; prettily
       *politiki

A rule of *i*-deletion appears to be required in other cases, too. If we add the suffix -*tu* to a noun or adjective in order to form a verb, and if that noun or adjective ends in *i*, then the *i* must be deleted.

29. gosari; breakfast gosaldu; to eat breakfast
30. itxusi; ugly itxustu; to make ugly

However, if the noun or adjective ends in *i* preceded by a stop, then the *i* cannot be deleted.

31. begi; eye begitu; to look at
32. irudi; image iruditu; to imagine

These considerations lead me to conclude that a rule of *i*-deletion is required in the derivation of present participles, rather than a rule of *i*-epenthesis.

Let us summarize what has been decided so far before going on to consider the derivations required for the data of 1-19.

a. The underlying form of the present participle suffix is -*tzen*.

b. This suffix is added directly to the infinitive except when the infinitive ends in the suffix -*tu*/-*du*, in which case the present participle suffix is added directly to the stem, i.e., to the infinitive without -*tu*/-*du*.

c. If the infinitive ends in -*i*, delete the *i*; this rule does not apply, however, if the *i* is immediately preceded by a stop. (We will return to this point later.)

Applying these rules to the forms underlying 1-19 gives us the intermediate stages shown in 1a-19a.

1a.	atera + tzen	11a.	txarrets + tzen
2a.	erre + tzen	12a.	itx + tzen
3a.	igo + tzen	13a.	ebaki + tzen
4a.	etorr + tzen	14a.	jaurti + tzen
5a.	estal + tzen	15a.	iku + tzen
6a.	ibil + tzen	16a.	arki + tzen
7a.	ipin + tzen	17a.	apain + tzen
8a.	eros + tzen	18a.	oldoz + tzen
9a.	berez +tzen	19a.	jan + tzen
10a.	idatz + tzen		

Next we must apply rule 21; this rule only affects forms 8a-12a, 18a, producing 8b-12b, 18b.

8b.	eros + ten
9b.	berez + ten
10b.	idatz + ten
11b.	txarrets + ten
12b.	itx + ten
18b.	oldoz + ten

If no further operations were performed, we would end up with correct forms for all cases except 9-12 and 19. The problem concerning 9 was pointed out earlier, so I will ignore that difficulty henceforth.

10c.	*idatzten
11c.	*txarretsten
12c.	*itxten
19c.	*jantzen

10c-12c require a further rule to simplify the consonant clusters; this rule is necessitated by the fact that Basque does not allow sequences Affricate-Stop. The necessary rule simply changes each affricate into its corresponding fricative.

33.
$$\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sonorant} \\ -\text{Continuant} \\ +\text{Delayed Release} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{Continuant}] / \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sonorant} \\ -\text{Continuant} \\ -\text{Delayed Release} \end{bmatrix}$$

As stated, this requires ordering the rule which alters the present participle suffix before the rule which alters the affricate in the stem.

However, Basque also does not allow sequences of two affricates, so we could just as well say that the two rules are unordered and that rule 33 is correctly written as 34.

34. $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sonorant} \\ -\text{Continuant} \\ +\text{Delayed Release} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow [+\text{Continuant}] / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sonorant} \\ -\text{Continuant} \end{bmatrix}$

Since rule 34 is actually simpler than rule 33 (there is one less feature required in the statement of the environment), 34 is to be preferred. Moreover, there is no reason that I am aware of for requiring the two rules (21 and 33) to be ordered with respect to each other (5).

With the addition of rule 34 all forms except 19 (to which we will return later) are accounted for. The next thing to ask is why things work in exactly this way. More specifically, why should infinitive final *i* be deleted if and only if the segment preceding *i* is not a stop. A first approximation to an explanation is to say that if we did delete the *i* when immediately preceded by a stop, we would end up with an impermissible cluster.

35.   ebaki + tzen → *ebaktzen/*ebakten

But this is insufficient, since deletion of *i* when immediately preceded by an affricate also produces an unacceptable cluster.

36.   itxi + tzen → *itxtzen/*itxten

The difference is that in the latter case there is a further rule which changes the unacceptable form into an acceptable one, namely rule 34.

37.   *itxten → ixten

The next question is why we can't extend rule 34 in such a way as

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(5) I have assumed till now that *ts*, *tz*, and *tx* are all unitary phonemes; however, Pam Munro has pointed out that if these are treated as biphonemic, that is, as *t+s*, *t+z*, *t+x*, a significant generalization may be possible. If we rewrite rule 34 treating these as biphonemic, we get rule i.

  i.   STOP → $\emptyset$ / $\underline{\hspace{1cm}}$ FRICATIVE+STOP

We have also seen (cf. 28) that a sequence of two stops is reduced by deleting the first stop.

  ii.   STOP → $\emptyset$ / $\underline{\hspace{1cm}}$ STOP

These rules can be collapsed into rule iii.

  iii.   STOP → $\emptyset$ / $\underline{\hspace{1cm}}$ (FRICATIVE) STOP

It is not clear to me at present whether these should be treated as mono- or biphonemic entities; I will, without justification, continue to treat them as monophonemic in the text.

to convert the unacceptable form of 35 into an acceptable form. But consider what this involves. In applying rule 34 to the *tx* in 36, only one feature is changed; the feature specifications of *tx* and *x* are identical except for the feature [Continuant] (6). However, if we change the feature [—Continuant] of *k* to [+Continuant], we end up with a segment that does not exist in Basque, namely phonetic [x]. (This is not to be confused with the Basque orthographic *x*, which is phonetically [š].) The only segments in Basque which are [+Continuant], discounting vowels, are *s, z, x,* and *j.* But these differ from *k* in a number of features.

	k	s	z	x	j
Coronal	—	+	+	+	—
Anterior	—	+	+	—	—
High	+	+	—	+	—
Back	+	—	—	—	—
Continuant	—	+	+	+	+

At minimum it would be necessary to change three features (not counting [Delayed Release]; cf. footnote 6); a fairly expensive and unnatural rule would be required.

$$38 \quad \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sonorant} \\ -\text{Coronal} \\ +\text{Back} \\ -\text{Continuant} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix} +\text{Coronal} \\ -\text{Back} \\ +\text{Continuant} \end{bmatrix} / \underline{\hspace{1cm}} \begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sonorant} \\ -\text{Continuant} \end{bmatrix}$$

Rather than add such a rule to the grammar, the language appears to have imposed a fairly involved constraint on the rule of *i*-deletion (7):

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(6) This assumes that the feature [—Delayed Release] will automatically become [+Delayed Release] whenever the feature [—Continuant] is changed to [+Continuant].

(7) The alternative to imposing this constraint on the rule of *i*-deletion is to incorporate the necessary restrictions on the rule into the environment of the rule. This can be done as follows:

$$\text{i. } i \rightarrow \emptyset \ / \ \left\{ \begin{matrix} [+\text{Sonorant}]) \\ [+\text{Delayed Release}] \end{matrix} \right\} \underline{\hspace{1cm}} +tzen$$

This rule has the drawback of employing curly brackets; the number of cases where this type of bracket is necessary in phonology has become so small that it is doubtful that they should be countenanced at all. Whether we accept this form of the rule or the constraint depends partly upon whether or not the constraint is generalizable to other phenomena. If the constraint is only pertinent to the rule of *i*-deletion, then it is doubtful that it should be accepted.

39a. When forming the present participle from an infinitive which ends in *i*, delete the *i*,

b. but don't delete *i* if an unacceptable consonant cluster will result,

c. unless there are further rules (e.g. rules 21 and 34) which will convert such an unacceptable cluster into an acceptable cluster.

Turning finally to example 19, the rules that have been discussed up until now won't generate the proper form. The output of them is 19c, which is incorrect. There is in principle nothing wrong with 19c; the cluster *ntz* is perfectly acceptable in Basque (cf. 7). Yet 19c is wrong in two respects —the correct form of the suffix should be *-ten*, not *-tzen*, and the *n* of the infinitive should be deleted. Regardless of whether or not the *n* is deleted we would expect to get *-tzen* rather than *-ten*, and the deletion of the *n* is unexplained. We must simply note that all verbs whose infinitive ends in *n* form the present participle by dropping the *n* and applying rule 21, ignoring the environmental condition on its application. Note that this is a completely consistent sub-regularity; all infinitives which end in *n* form their present participle in this way.

40. jan, jaten; eat
41. esan, esaten; say
42. egon, egoten; be
43. entzun, entzuten; hear
44. irten, irteten; leave

SUMMARY

In order to derive the present participle of a verb in the Guipuzcoan dialect of Basque the following steps are required:

a. attach the suffix *-tzen* to the infinitive, or to the stem if the infinitive ends with the suffix *-tu/-du*.

b. delete infinitive-final *i* if present;

c. apply rule 21 to change *-tzen* to *-ten* if immediately preceded by a segment which is [—Sonorant];

d. apply rule 34 to change an affricate to a fricative if immediately followed by a segment which is $\begin{bmatrix} -\text{Sonorant} \\ -\text{Continuant} \end{bmatrix}$;

e. impose constraint 39 upon the operation of step b.

The derivation of present participles from infinitives ending in *n* will have to be handled by a sub-process which is at variance with the normal process of present participle formation.

Partitive Assignment in Basque

R. P. G. de Rijk

I. PREFIXES AND SUFFIXES

This paper will deal with some of the syntax and semantics of a particular suffix of Basque. An introductory discussion of the role that suffixes play in Basque grammar may therefore be useful to those readers who are not familiar with the language.

Joseph Greenberg, in his famous article «Some Universals of Grammar» classifies Basque (p. 106) as an «exclusively suffixing» language. If taken to imply the absence of profixes from the language, this claim is certainly false. There are prefixes in Basque. They play indeed a most conspicuous role in the morphology of verbs. The person markers of the absolutive (i.e. nominative as opposed to ergative) case are prefixes: *n-*, *h-*, *d-*, etc., as in: *nator* 'I am coming', *hator* 'you are coming', *dator* 'he is coming' and similarly: *nakar* 'he is bringing me', *hakar* 'he is bringing you', *dakar* 'he is bringing him'.

In some tenses and moods, the person markers of the ergative case are also prefixes. To take just one example, we have the following forms of the conditional: *nuke* 'I would have', *hukek, huken* 'you (male, female) would have', *luke* 'he (she, it) would have'.

Other incontrovertible prefixes are: conditional *ba-*, as in *banator* 'if I am coming', *banu* 'if I had' and causal *bait-* as in *bainator* 'for (or. 'since') I am coming', *bainuen* 'for (or. 'since') I had'.

Yet, Greenberg is not far off the mark. In derivational morphology, prefixes are extremely scarce, though, it is true, not altogether lacking. As announced by its title. I. M. Echaide's book *Tratado de Sufijación, Prefijación y Composición en el Idioma Euskaro* (2nd ed., Tolosa 1931) contains a section on prefixation. Many of his

alleged examples, however, are not examples of prefixation but of composition. For instance, the formatives *basa-* «wild», *asta-* «wild» and *ugaz-* «foster-, step-», which occur e.g. in *basakatu* «wildcat», *astamats* «wild raisin», *ugazama* «foster mother», are nothing but regular allomorphs of the nouns *baso* «woods», *asto* (1) «donkey» and *ugatz* «breast», used whenever they occupy the position of the first element in a compound (2).

Likewise, formations with the negative *ez-* as the first element, such as *ez-jakin* «ignorant», *ez-ikasi* «unlessoned», *ez-axol* «careless», can also be considered examples of compounding, since *ez* occurs as an independent word meaning «not» or «no».

Another example of Echaide's, *baldin* is clearly an independent word, for, along with the phrase *iñor baldin badator* «if anyone comes», we also find *baldin iñor badator* with the same meaning.

A more difficult case to evaluate is that of the modals *al* (an interrogative for yes-no questions), *bide* (indicates high probability), *ote* (dubitative) and *omen* («reportedly», «as they say») (3).

Azkue and other grammarians call them «modal prefixes of the finite verb», a designation that seems appropriate enough in the light of their syntactic behavior. Yet, personally, I would prefer to consider them as particles (i.e. independent words) that obligatorily turn into proclitics in the presence of a finite verb. The reason I am reluctant to put them down as mere prefixes is that affixes normally (that is, in non-metalinguistic contexts) cannot survive without a stem supporting them, whereas some of the elements of this class can occur independently in contexts where the finite verb has been deleted. So, for instance, *ote* in examples like the following: *Nork ikusi du? Zuk ote?* «Who has seen him? You perhaps?» *Neronek ikusi det. —Ba ote?* «I have seen him myself. —Really?» *Iñork ez du ikusi. —Ez ote?* «Nobody has seen him. —Really?» *Hark esaten due-*

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(1) Other names of animals are used in the same way. We find e.g.: *suge-tipula*, "wild onion" (lit. "snake-onion"); *otsaporru*, "wild leek" (lit. "wolf-leek"); *txerri-gerezi* "wild cherry" (lit. "pig-cherry") and *txori-mats* "wild raisin" (lit. "bird-raisin"). For "wild onion" there are also the Bizcayan forms *erroi-kipula* (lit. "raven-onion") and *sapakipula* (lit. "toad-onion"). Data from Plácido Múgica, *Diccionario Castellano-Vasco,* p. 1644.

(2) For the regularity of the change of final *o* to *a* in disyllabic first members of compounds, see FHV, 6.1 (i.e. Luis Michelena, *Fonética Histórica Vasca*). For the *-z/-tz* alternation in *ugatz,* see FHV, 14.6.

(3) The glosses here are only a rough approximation. They do no justice to the syntactic and semantic complexities of these items. A long and probably very interesting dissertation could be written on this subject, preferably by a native speaker.

na... lege ote... euskaldunontzat? «(Is) what he says... perhaps the law... for us Basques?».

In this last example, which is taken from *Mitxelenaren Idazlan Hautatuak* (p. 397), the copula *da* «is» has been deleted by an as yet poorly understood stylistic rule, and the remaining particle *ote* gives the sentence the rhetorical flavor it has: it is a queclarative in the sense of Sadock (4).

My impression about these modal items is that they are on their way to becoming prefixes, but have not quite made it yet all the way (5).

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(4) See Jerrold M. Sadock, "Queclaratives", published in: *Papers from the Seventh Regional Meeting Chicago Linguistic Society*, (1971), p. 223-231.

(5) In past centuries, the positional restrictions on these modal particles were less stringent than they are nowadays.

In the first work printed in Basque, Etxepare's *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (1545) *ote* is not attested, but, about a hundred years later, we find it occurring several times in Oihenarte's poetry, published in 1657. There *ote* (pronounced *othe*) could either precede or follow the finite verb. Among the examples are:

ba daidita othe huts ...? ("Would I be making a mistake?") (0.11; = II, p. 130). *... hutsik othe daidita?* ("Would I be making a mistake?") (0.130; = XIII, p. 172). *Amets al'egia d'ote nik enzuna* ("Is what I have heard a dream or the truth?") (0.57; = VI, p. 149). Here *d'ote* is poetic licence for *da ote*.

Azkue in his *Morfología Vasca* (II, p. 469) claims that sentences like *Badoa ote* ("Maybe he is (already) coming") and *Eztoa ote* ("Maybe he is not coming") are frequently heard non-interrogatively, although not in the Bizcayan dialect: "Fuera del B. se oye mucho separado del verbo cuando no se trata de preguntar." Likewise, *omen*, according to Azkue, may either precede or follow the verb: "Casi indistintamente se dicen *etorri omen dira* o *etorri dira omen* "dicen que (es fama que) han venido". (*Morfología Vasca* II, p. 470). Compare also Azkue's *Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés* (II, p. 109), where *berant ibili dira omen*, is given as a possible variant in the Labourdin dialect of *berant ibili omen dira*, "It is rumored that they have been walking late".

In both cases talking about the construction with the particle following the verb, Azkue appears to be referring to contemporary usage: "se oye mucho", "se dicen". Still, Azkue was born in 1864 and his contemporaries are no longer ours. Although I have not carried out extensive field work on this question, my feeling is that the particles mentioned can no longer be postposed to the finite verb in any part of the Basque area. The evidence for this includes the corpus of folkstories and other ethnographic materials from many different regions of the Basque country collected by Don José Miguel de Barandiarán and his students, published in four volumes as *El Mundo en la Mente Popular Vasca*, Colección Auñamendi, San Sebastián 1960-62. The great majority of the material was collected between 1920 and 1936, but some folktales (from Ataun) go back as far as the beginning of the first decade of this century. As we would expect from the nature of the material, the particle *omen* (including its local variations, such as *emen*) occurs with great frequency; however, we invariably find it in the position immediately preceding the finite verb, and often written together with it as one word. The same is true for the less frequent particles *ote* and *bide*.

The most obvious examples of prefixes in derivational morphology are *arra-*, «re-»; *des-*, «un-» and *birr-/berr-*, «re-».

Arra- is restricted to Souletin and Low-Navarrese. It combines with a fairly large number of verbs and with some relational nouns, e.g.: *jin* «come», *arrajin* «return»; *egin* «make», *arregin* «remake»; *phiztu* «light up», *arraphiztu* «relight»; *seme* «son», *arraseme* «grandson»; *lloba* «nephew» or «niece», *arralloba* «great-nephew» or «greatniece»; *maiatz* «May», *arramaiatz* «June».

Des- is common to all Basque dialects. It combines only with a very small number of native adjectives and verbs. So we have e.g.: *berdin* «equal», *desberdin* «unequal»; *egoki* «appropriate», *desegoki* «inappropriate»; *egin* «do», *desegin* «undo».

From *jantzi* «dress», however, we do not have **desjantzi* «undress», but *erantzi* «undress», which, curiously enough, has the form of an old causative of *jantzi*.

Both prefixes are evidently of Romance origin. They must have entered the language via a large scale borrowing of Romance words containing them, so that the prefixes and their meaning became psychologically real to the speakers of Basque. As the examples show, they can now be combined with purely native stems as well.

The prefix *birr-/berr-* is of native origin. We find it in: *birresan* «repeat» (*esan*, «say»); *birlandatu* «replant» (*landatu* «plant»), *berpiztu* «resuscitate» (*piztu* «animate»), *berrerosi* «buy back» (*erosi* «buy»).

Our discussion so far is enough to show that Greenberg's assessment of Basque as an exclusively suffixing language cannot stand unamended. Still, on the other hand, it is very nearly correct. Even when one chooses to include all of the doubtful cases, the prefixes still are a negligible minority as compared with the overwhelming number (6) of suffixes that Basque draws upon for the formation of its lexical items. Moreover, case relationships are signalled exclusively by suffixes. In this limited sense, Basque indeed is an exclusively suffixing language.

The following sentence will serve as an illustration of the way cases are marked in Basque:

Ijitoak emakumeari bi musu eman zizkion masailean. «The gypsy gave the woman two kisses on the cheek».

The suffix *-k* (called «the ergative suffix») marks the noun *ijitoa* «the gypsy» as the subject of a transitive verb, here of *eman* «give». The suffix *-ri* marks the noun *emakumea* «the woman» as an indi-

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(6) For a list of the most important suffixes, see P. Lafitte, *Grammaire basque*, § 83–86.

rect object (dative). The absence of a suffix on *bi musu* «two kisses» marks it as a direct object, or, more precisely, as either a direct object or a subject of an intransitive verb. This unmarked case is called the «absolutive». Finally, the suffix *-n* of *masailean* «on the cheek» marks it as a locative. The form *zizkion* is a transitive auxiliary of the past tense, which includes reference to a third person singular subject, a third person plural object, and a third person singular indirect object.

The case suffixes are added only to the last element of a phrase; thus, «to the very beautiful woman» translates as *emakume oso ederrari,* and not as **emakumeri osori ederrari.*

A conjoint expression may often be regarded either as one phrase, and hence supplied with a single suffix, or as a conjunction of two or more phrases, and hence with a suffix on each phrase. Thus, corresponding to the English sentence «Edurne and Nekane have done it», both *Edurnek eta Nekanek egin dute* and *Edurne ta Nekanek egin dute* are possible. (The conjunction «and» is *ta* after a vowel, and *eta* after a consonant.)

Nothing resembling the various declensions of some of the Indo-European languages, like Latin, Greek, Sanskrit or Slavic, is found in Basque. The same case relationship is always signalled by the same suffix (7), similar to what happens in the Uralic or the Altaic languages.

Because of all this, the case suffixes of Basque are more similar to the prepositions of English or, for that matter, Spanish or French, that they are to the case endings of the Indo-European languages mentioned earlier. For this reason, then, I will often use the term «postposition» (i.e. a syntactic unit just like a preposition, except that it is put after the noun instead of before), when I am referring to a suffix signalling a case relationship.

To one of these suffixes, namely *-rik,* the rest of this paper will be devoted.

II.   THE SUFFIX *-RIK:* VIEWS OF OLDER GRAMMARIANS

The postposition *-rik,* whose *r* drops after a consonant (8), has

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(7) It must be observed, however, that semantically animate nouns cannot take locational case suffixes directly, but only via an intervening element *-gan-.* Thus *etxetik* "from the house" but *ijitoarengandik* "from the gypsy".

(8) In most of the grammatical literature, the form of the suffix is considered to be simply *-ik,* the *r* being viewed as epenthetic element inserted in nominal declensions to avoid certain vowel sequences considered cacophonic.

I have argued against this view in my article "Is Basque an S.O.V. language", *Fontes Linguae Vasconum 1* (1969), 319-351, on pages 336-338.

been given different names by different grammarians. The first author
to mention the suffix was Oihenart, on page 59 of his work *Notitia
Utriusque Vasconiae*, published in 1638 in Paris. He called it «ne-
gative» (9).

Larramendi includes a discussion of it in his famous grammar
El impossible vencido, published in 1729 in Salamanca, and claims
that it is something special, not found in Spanish, French or any
other language. He considers it an article, in fact, two articles:

«Además de los artículos explicados, tiene el bascuence otros
especiales para todo nombre apelativo que no tiene el romance ni
otras lenguas. En el nominativo y acusativo de singular tiene otros
dos artículos, *ic, ric*, que sirven con frecuencia, especialmente en
ciertos modos de hablar, como cuando preguntamos o negamos al-
guna cosa. No se usan ambos promiscuamente, sino unas veces uno
y otras veces otro. Sea, pues, la regla, que si el nombre se acaba en
consonante, tiene lugar el *ic*, v.g.: *mutil, guizon* se acaban en conso-
nante, y por eso *mutilíc eztagó*, no hay ningún muchacho, *guizonic
aguerí eztá*, no parece hombre alguno. Pero si el nombre se acabare en
vocal, sólo tiene lugar el *ric*, v.g.: *ogui, buru* se acaban en vocal, y
por eso *badezú oguiríc?*, tienes algún pan? *bururic eztú*, no tiene
juicio.» (§ II, p. 8-9).

Azkue, the great Basque grammarian of the recent past —he died
in 1951— follows Larramendi in considering *-rik* an article. In his
Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés (1905) he calls it «artículo no
afirmativo e indeterminado» (I, p. 400) and adds: «Se usa en nega-
ciones, dudas, condiciones, interrogaciones, etc.; diferenciándose de
los artículos *-a* y *-o* en que éstos se usan en afirmaciones concretas».
He also observes that *-rik* can be used only in the absolutive (i.e.
nominative) case: «Diferénciase también los artículos afirmativos
y el no afirmativo, en que éste se usa sólo con pacientes o acusativos».
In his later work *Morfología Vasca* (1923), he uses the term «artículo
abstracto» for *-rik*, and opposes it to the «artículo genérico» *-a* and
the «artículo concreto» (he also says «concretivo») *-o* (§ 427).

Nearly a century earlier, Lécluse (*Grammaire basque*, 1826) also
made a threefold distinction, not between three kinds of articles, but
between three kinds of nominatives: «nominatif», «nominatif actif»
(i.e. ergative *-k*) and «nominatif négatif», his name for the suffix
-rik. He remarks (p. 83): «Ce nominatif négatif peut être considéré
comme un partitif; en effet, si l'on veut exprimer en basque ces

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(9) I am indebted for this reference to Lécluse, *Grammaire basque* (Toulouse-
Bayonne, 1826), p. 82.

phrases: *Je n'ai pas d'argent, a-t-il de l'argent?* on ne peut dire
autrement que: *Ez dut diruric, badu diruric?*

The same two examples *Ez dut diruric, badu diruric?* had already
occurred in Harriet's *Gramatica escuaraz eta francesez* (1741), from
which Lécluse probably took them. Harriet, however, contents himself
with stating: «*aitaric, aitarenic* signifient le [sic] non possession de
la personne ou de la chose» (p. 450) and then cites a few examples.

The parallel Lécluse draws between *-rik* and the partitive in
French meets with stern disapproval on the part of Van Eys. The
Dutch bascologist expresses his views as follows:

«*Ik*, par conséquent, à ceux qui expliquent le basque par la
langue française, a paru correspondre à *"de"*. Mais *ik* correspond
plutôt à un pluriel indéfini. Dans la plupart des cas, l'indéfini est
un pluriel ou peut s'expliquer par un pluriel et *ik* n'est pas un
suffixe correspondant à la préposition *"de"*; *ik* est, croyons-nous,
le signe de pluralité *k* précédé de *i*.» (*Grammaire comparée des
dialectes basques*, Paris, 1879, p. 39).

It is not necessary for us to criticize this idea in any detail.
Van Eys speaks of *i* as an intermediary vowel characteristic of the
indefinite plural (p. 35), but his whole theory of the intermediary
vowels *a, e, i* and *o* in Basque (Chap. VI, § 3, 4, 5, 6) has no factual
basis. His *i* cannot be identified with the dative suffix *-ri*, which is
always word-final. Moreover, noun phrases ending in the suffix *-rik*
are always syntactically singular, never plural. On the preceding
page (p. 38), Van Eys himself quotes an example (from Mendiburu)
that shows this: ...*ez dute bear lukeen euskarasko libururik* «They
don't have the Basque books he would need». If *euskarasko libururik*
'Basque books' was plural, the verb forms *dituzte* and *litukeen* would
have been used instead of *dute* and *lukeen*. But with *dituzte* and
litukeen the sentence would have been ungrammatical, since nouns
with the suffix *-rik* are not construed as plural in Basque.

We now leave Van Eys and pass on to another grammarian,
Jean Ithurry, a parish priest of Sara, who devoted the last years
of his life to composing a Basque grammar. He died in 1895, but
his work did not come out as a book until 1920. The first part of
his *Grammaire basque* deals with case suffixes. Among them we find
-rik, explicitly referred to as «le suffixe du partitif» (Chap. I,
Art. II, p. 2). The third part of the book deals with syntax (10).

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(10) I can't refrain from mentioning as a curiosity that the first chapter
of this part is headed: "Chapître I, Syntaxe des noms des saints".

The partitive is treated in § 470 (p. 431), where we find enumerated four circumstances under which it is used:

«Au partitif se place:

1.° Le nom qui vient après l'interrogation, il y a? et il n'y a point? (11).

2.° L'état, la position, la posture dans lesquels on est, a, reste, demeure, laisse (12).

3.° Après assez de... (13).

4.° Après le superlatif.»

Aside from a dozen examples taken from the literature, which I have not reproduced, this is all the author has to say about the use of the partitive.

We get better results with the next two authors, Gavel and Lafitte. With them, of course, we are reaching well into the twentieth century.

Henri Gavel, in his *Grammaire basque* (Bayonne 1929), a truly outstanding work, has a five-page section (Chap. II, § 54) entitled «Le discédent et le partitif» where he treats the suffixes *-tik* «from», «through», and *-rik*. These two, according to him, were originally one and the same. That is certainly plausible, but a discussion of this would lead us beyond the scope of this paper, which is not concerned with etymology. Certain is that nowadays all Basque dialects do distinguish ablative and partitive.

Gavel had, of course, read Van Eys's *Grammaire Comparée;* even so, he is not afraid to use the French partitive as a term of comparison in describing the use of the Basque suffix. We quote:

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(11) After this, the author gives four examples, none of them interrogative. I will transcribe the first one here, because it contains no less than five partitive forms: *Prudentki gobernatzen bazare ez da izanen ez aitarik, ez amarik, ez senharrik ez emazterik maiz komuniatzetik debekatu nahiko zaituenik,* 'If you behave wisely, there won't be any father, any mother, any husband or any wife who will want to stop you from receiving Holy Communion often'. Especially interesting is the partitivization of the pseudo-extraposed relative clause *maiz komuniatzetik debekatu nahiko zaituen* 'who will want to stop you from receiving Holy Communion often'. For the notion of pseudo-extraposition see pages 129-131 of my paper "Relative Clauses in Basque: A. Guided Tour", in Peranteau, Levi, Phares (eds.), *The Chicago Which Hunt* (C.L.S., Chicago, 1972), p. 115-135.

(12) None of the Basque grammarians, not even Gavel or Lafitte, distinguishes partitive *-rik* from stative *-rik*. There are, however, both semantic and syntactic reasons for doing so, as can be seen from the end of section III of this paper.

(13) The phrasing here, of course, is nonsensical. Such a lapsus reminds us of the fact that Ithurry's treatment of syntax in Part III, or at least a great deal of it, is best considered as a collection of notes of the author to himself, to be worked out later, rather than as a manuscript ready for publication. Ithurry, unfortunately, died before he could bring his task to a proper end.

«Le partitif a plusieurs emplois, assez différents les uns des autres. Le plus important est de rendre, dans les phrases négatives ou interrogatives, l'idée exprimée par le partitif français formé à l'aide de la préposition *de* (combinée ou non, suivant les cas, avec l'article défini), lorsque ce partitif français est, au point de vue basque, sujet réel du verbe. Ex:

Ogirik nahi duzuia? 'Voulez-vous du pain?'

Etzen urik 'Il n'y avait pas d'eau'.» (Chap. II, p. 32).

Now, we may criticize Gavel's formulation, and rightly so, for it is somewhat infelicitously phrased; yet, he succeeds in making clear three things: (i) *-rik* is a semantic equivalent of the French partitive, but (ii), unlike the latter, it is restricted to negative and interrogative contexts and (iii) to the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case. Of all previous studies, only Azkue's (Diccionario Vasco-Español-Francés I, p. 400) achieved this much insight.

On page 34, Gavel mentions what he calls another use of the partitive in Basque, namely, with past participles and some adjectives in the function of an ablative absolute. I consider this a separate suffix, not synchronically related to the partitive; cf. the end of my section III.

There are still a few other observations on the partitive in Gavel's book; I will mention some of them further on in this paper.

Finally, in Pierre Lafitte's *Grammaire basque* (Bayonne, 1944), we find the partitive as one of the twelve cases the author distinguishes in Basque (Chap. VII, § 122). Like his predecessors, he collapses partitive *-rik* and stative *-rik*, which together make up his partitive case. He presents a bare list of its various uses in Chap. XXXIV, § 856, and gives a slightly more extensive treatment in Chap. VIII, § 160, on how to translate the French partitive article into Basque, and in § 161: «Emplois particuliers du cas partitif basque» ('Some special uses of the Basque partitive case').

I am indebted for some valuable information to these and other sections of Lafitte's book, but I will make no attempt to summarize them here, as the book is readily available and should be part of the library of anyone interested in Basque.

We have seen that many Basque grammarians use the term «partitive» when talking about the suffix *-rik*. I will do the same, for the similarity with the French partitive is too striking to be ignored; even though the conditions under which the Basque partitive occurs are much more restricted than those that govern the use of the French construction of the same name.

A partitive is a form typically used for presenting a quantity the

exact size of which is not know or is irrelevant. To illustrate with a French example, we have: *Il y a des gitans en France.* 'There are gypsies in France'. With a well-defined quantity the partitive preposition *de* cannot be used:

Il y a vingt mille gitans en France. 'There are twenty thousand gypsies in France' and not: **Il y a des vingt mille gitans en France.*

In Basque, the use of the partitive suffix in affirmative contexts is subject to severe limitations:

(1)a   *Ijitorik ba da Frantzian.

If uttered with normal, purely declarative, intonation, (1)a is ungrammatical in all dialects (14). The partitive *-rik* cannot appear here, the plural article (15) *-ak* must be used:

(1)b   Ijitoak ba dira Frantzian. 'There are gypsies in France'.

The verb form here is plural too: *dira* 'are' instead of *da* 'is', since the subject of the existencial verb *izan* 'be' is the plural form *ijitoak* 'gypsies'.

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(14) Contrary to this affirmation, I know of one Guipúzcoan author, Salvador Garmendia born in Zaldibia, who does use the partitive in purely declarative sentences such as (1)a. In a play, published in the journal *Egan*, he writes: *Beti izan degu borondaterik* 'We have always had will' *Egan*, 29 (1969), p. 111). Cf. French: *Nous avons toujours eu de la volonté*. His sentence is rejected by all my informants. According to L. Michelena, in Zaldibia like everywhere else, people would say: *Beti izan degu borondatea*, without the partitive.

Garmendia has translated various literary works from French into Basque, among those Camus, *Les Justes* and St. Exupéry, *Le Petit Prince*. Thus it is possible that Garmendia has allowed the syntax of his native language to be influenced by that of French. He seems to have developed a particular predilection for the partitive construction, for in his translation of *Le Petit Prince*, he used it, creating an ungrammatical sentence, where the original French version does not have a partitive: *Hemengo ihiztariek ba dute ritorik:* ...'The local hunters have rites:...' (p. 70). The French has: *Il y a un rite, par exemple, chez mes chasseurs.* Thus, it seems that the statement in the text can be left without further qualifications.

(15) The singular article *-a* and its plural *-ak* are usually definite. However, in the morphologically unmarked case (i.e. the absolutive, or nominative), they can also be indefinite, as e.g., in existential clauses, such as (1)b. I cannot go into the details here, since the conditions under which this happens are highly complex and there are at least three geographically coexisting systems. I am hoping to throw some light on this problem in a later publication.

In the Northern dialects of Basque, the partitive can be used with
declarative intonation in affirmative contexts when the head of the
noun phrase carries a modifier of certain types, as we will see in
section V.

III. BASIC USES OF THE PARTITIVE

Most instances of partitive *-rik* arise as the result of a transfor-
mation, which I will call Partitive Assignment, to be discussed in
section IV. The theoretical status of *-rik* in the grammar, however,
is not merely that of a transformationally introduced element. Some
instances of *-rik* are basic; that is, they are to be accounted for by
the base rules of the grammar (16).

The basic uses of *-rik* can be distinguished from the derived uses
by means of two criteria, both of which must be satisfied:

(i)   In its basic use, *-rik* functions as a postposition: it indicates a
grammatical relation between two constituents.
(ii)   The basic use of *-rik* can occur in all sentence types, including
positive assertions.

In accordance with these criteria, two —possibly related— uses
of *-rik* are clearly basic; namely, the use of *-rik* in superlative con-
structions, and the use of *-rik* in quantifier constructions.

a)   Superlative constructions.
(2)a   Arantxa emakumerik ederrena da. 'Arantxa is the most beauti-
ful of women'.
-en being the superlative suffix, *ederren* is the superlative form of
eder 'beautiful', *-a* is an article; the noun *emakume* 'woman' carries
the suffix *-rik*.
(2)b   Ijitorik geienak ederrak dira. 'Most gypsies are beautiful'.

The form *geien* 'most' contains the superlative suffix *-en,* and
also acts like a superlative form in allowing the partitive *-rik* on the
preceding noun *ijito* 'gypsy'. *-ak* is the plural of the article *-a,* added

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(16)   I do not mean to take a stand here with regard to the controversial
question as to just how categories such as prepositions, postpositions, case endings
and the like are to be generated, either in universal grammar or in the grammar
of Basque. All I want to say is that some instances of *-rik* are generated in the
same way, and exist at the same level of structure, as the other postpositions
of Basque.

here to the adjective *eder* 'beautiful' by a rule of concord operative in all Basque dialects except Souletin and Roncalese.

(2)c   Zugaitz onen fruturik leena ijitoari eman bear zaio. 'The first fruit of this tree must be given to the gypsy'.

The adjective *leen* 'first' functions as a superlative. It induces the partitive on the noun it modifies, in our example, *frutu* 'fruit'. The same is true for the adjective *azken* 'last', but not for the ordinals *bigarren* 'second', *irugarren* 'third', and so on. Thus, we can have: *zugaitz onen fruturik azkena* 'the last fruit of this tree', but never **zugaitz onen fruturik bigarrena* 'the second fruit of this tree'.

In contemporary usage, at least in Guipúzcoa and Bizcaya, the partitive in superlative constructions is optional. Instead of it, the bare noun may be used, with no difference in meaning: *emakume ederrena* 'the most beautiful woman'; *ijito geienak* 'most gypsies'; *zugaitz onen frutu leena* 'the first fruit of this tree'.

b)   Quantifier constructions.
(3)a   Ijitorik askorekin itzegin degu. 'We have talked with many gypsies'.
(3)b   Axeterrik aski duzu. 'There are plenty of doctors' (Etxepare, *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*, p. 100).
(3)c   Naiko gerlarik degu. 'We have got enough war'.
(3)d   I bezelako euskaldunik ba dek makiña bat. 'There are a lot of Basques like you' (D. Aguirre, Garoa, p. 95).

These are all positive assertions where the presence of a quantifier induces the partitive form of the quantified noun phrase. Thus, in (3)d, *euskaldun* 'Basque' has the partitive postposition because it is in construction with the quantifier *makiña bat* 'a lot'.

Most parts of Northern Guipúzcoa (e.g. Zarauz, San Sebastián, Oyarzun) have abandoned this use of the partitive in affirmative sentences. They say *ijito asko* instead of *ijitorik asko* (17). To (3)d, they prefer (3)e or (3)f.

(3)e   I bezelako makiña bat euskaldun ba dek.
(3)f   I bezelako euskalduna ba dek makiña bat.

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(17)   Already Leizarraga's New Testament translation (1571) has quantifier constructions with and without the partitive. So we find: ...anhitz gauza banuen-ere zuei skribatzekorik (2. Jn. 1.12) 'though I had many things to write to you'. But: oraino anhitz gauza dut zuei erraiteko (Jn. 16.12) 'I have still many things to say to you'.

(The meaning of (3)e or (3)f is the same as that of (3)d).

This practice is to be viewed as an innovation. That the partitive in quantifier constructions was once common all over the area, is shown by frozen expressions such as *eskarrik asko* 'many thanks', alongside of which there is no **eskar asko*.

In this subsection, too, belongs the use of the partitive in exclamations. Consider the sentences:

(3)g Ba da ijitorik Españian! 'There are in Spain an awful lot of gypsies!'
(3)h Ijitorik ba da Españian! 'An awful lot of gypsies there are in Spain!'

To account for the partitive in these examples, I will assume the underlying presence of a quantifier, meaning something like 'a lot'. This quantifier is then deleted by a presumably late rule of Quantifier Deletion operating specifically in exclamatory sentences.

The same process can be found in other languages. In Dutch e.g. sentence (3)h will be rendered as: Een zigeuners dat er in Spanje zijn!

In this sentence, the singular form of the indefinite article, unstressed *een*, seems to clash with the plural form *zigeuners* 'gypsies'. Here too, an understood quantifier, probably *een (hele) boel* 'a (whole) lot' nicely accounts for this morphological peculiarity as well as for the meaning of the sentence.

There is a difficulty with this solution in the case of Basque. Exclamations like (3)g,h are used also by speakers who do not allow the partitive with quantifiers in positive contexts. This difficulty is not insurmountable. We have seen that, in certain regions, the use of the partitive with quantifiers has the status of an archaism. But, for archaisms to survive only in exclamatory contexts is not uncommon. Basque itself offers another example of that: In the Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan dialects, the old non-emphatic possessive pronoun *ene* 'my' has been totally replaced by the form *nere*, which used to be emphatic, or by *nire*, an analogical formation on the pronoun *ni* 'I'. With one exception, namely exclamations: *ene Jainkoa!* 'my God!', *ene ama!* 'my mother!' *ai ene!* 'oh my!'. The Northern dialects still make use of *ene* in all contexts. Clearly, syntactic theory must have devices for dealing with this type of situation.

By this account, the use of *-rik* in exclamations is a basic one, in spite of the apparent violation of our criterion (ii). Of course, the restriction to exclamatory contexts here has nothing to do with

the occurrence of the partitive as such, but only with the fact that the rule of Quantifier Deletion is restricted to those contexts.

From example (3)a, *ijitorik askorekin* 'with many gypsies' we see that the use of *-rik* with quantifiers does not require the whole noun phrase to be in the absolutive (i.e. nominative) case. Postpositions in Basque are always added to the end of the whole noun phrase; therefore, the quantifier *asko* 'many' and not the noun *ijito* 'gypsy' receives the postposition *-rekin* 'with'. It is not possible to pile another suffix on top of the partitive itself. Therefore, in example (3)c, where the quantifier *naiko* 'enough' precedes the noun *gerla* 'war', it is essential for the whole noun phrase *naiko gerlarik* 'enough war' to be in the absolutive case.

What I have called stative *-rik* (see section II, footnote 12) is an entirely different morpheme. We find it added to past participle forms, mainly in the Northern dialects: *ikusirik* 'having seen', from *ikusi* 'seen'. For more examples and some remarks on the use of these forms, see P. Lafitte, *Grammaire basque,* § 498. In all dialects, stative *-rik* can be added to certain adjectives and a few nouns. The resulting form always denotes a state, hence the name stative *-rik*. Examples are: (from adjectives) *alperrik* 'in vain', *bakarrik* 'alone', *bilutsik* 'naked', *bizirik* 'alive', *isilik* 'silent', *osorik* 'complete', *zabalik* 'wide open'; (from nouns) *baraurik* 'empty-stomached', *bildurrik* 'afraid', *pozik* 'happy'. To many of these forms, the relational suffix *-ko* may be added, the result being a prenominal modifier of a noun phrase: *bilutsik ikusirikako ijitoa* 'the gypsy seen naked', *alperrikako esamesak* 'vain gossip'. The *a* appearing in front of the suffix *-ko* is an indication that the underlying form of *-rik* is *-rika* (18),

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(18) In the modern dialects, Vowel Truncation is a strictly obligatory rule. But, in several 16th and 17th century texts, we find many instances of undeleted *-a*, at least with the suffixes *-rik* and *-tik*. So in Etxepare's poem "Emazten Fabore" (*Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*, 1545): *ixilika* 'silent', *zerutika* 'from heaven'. Also in a poem awarded the first prize in a contest in Pamplona in 1610, we find: *guiçonica* 'any man', *alegrerica* 'joyous', *jarririca* 'seated', *jancirica* 'clothed', *pobreçarica yrtenica* 'having come out of poverty', *arturica* 'having taken', alongside of forms without final *-a*: *fantasiaric* 'any phantasy', *echiric* 'closed', *cumplituric* 'fulfilled'. L. Michelena, who quotes this poem in his book *Textos Arcaicos Vascos,* § 3.1.21, remarks: "Llama la atención la frecuencia con que aparece —en parte, acaso, *metri causa*— la desinencia *-(r)ica* de "partitivo". En el v. 67 tiene claro valor de ablativo: *pobreçarica* '(salidos) de la pobreza'." In the same work, § 3.2.11, we find the text of a Credo in High Navarrese, published in Rome in 1614. It has the form *andica* 'from there', but *concevituric, vaytatic, vitartetic, jarreric* with deleted *-a* (op. cit. p. 163). In Beriayn's *Tratado de como se ha de oir missa* (a bilingual book, whose Basque is Southern High Navarrese, probably from Uterga, published in Pamplona in 1621), there is an instance of *jakinika* 'knowing' for *jakinik* (p. 71).

showing that the phonological rule of Vowel Truncation which I proposed on page 339 of my article «Is Basque an S.O.V. Language?» (*Fontes Linguae Vasconum*, I (1969), p. 319-351) is not restricted to verb forms.

We thus notice an important difference between stative -*rik* and partitive -*rik:* the former can be followed by the suffix -*ko*, while the latter cannot be followed by any suffix.

There is an exception to this statement, but it is not a very interesting one. In certain dialects, and especially in Guipúzcoan, the syllable -*an* (or, rather, the segment -*n*, since the underlying form of -*rik*, -*tik* is -*rika*, -*tika*), possibly identical with the inessive ending -*n* 'in', can be added freely to any suffix ending in -*ik*, causing no change in meaning whatsoever (cf. Azkue, *Morfología Vasca*, § 441). Thus, we meet forms like: *ijitorikan asko* 'many gypsies', *pozikan* 'happy', *ikusirikan* 'having seen', *orregatikan* 'therefore', *oraindikan* 'still', *dirurikan* (19) *gabe* 'without money', *ardoa duelarikan* 'while he has wine' (the suffix -*larik* 'while' consists of the complementizer -*la* 'that', 'while', together with stative -*rik*).

Some speakers will even iterate the process, producing forms like *pozikanen* from *pozikan*, from *pozik*. The advantage of this free extra syllable is eagerly exploited by the bertsolaris (Basque bards) in their improvised poetic productions, where a correct meter is imperative. It also occurs in normal conversational style, albeit in certain regions it is a lot more frequent than in others. In particular, the coastal area seems to be quite fond of it.

Its use is already attested in Etxepare's *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae* (1545): *biderikan lizatenez* 'if there was a way' (Amore gogorraren despita, line 4). Also e.g. in Gazteluzar's *Eguia Catholicac* (1686): *maiteagorikan* 'more loved' (p. 300).

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(19) This example may seem like a real counter-example to the claim we just made. It appears that partitive -*rik* is followed by another postposition: *gabe*. There are, however, many reasons for considering *gabe* an adjective (similar to *bete* 'full') and not a postposition. I will mention just three: *Gabe* can receive the determiner -*a* by the rule of concord mentioned under example (2)b, which applies to nouns and adjectives, but not to postposition:

(i) Ijito ori dirurik gabea da. 'That gypsy is without money'. Postpositions do not take stative -*rik*, but *gabe* does: *dirurik gaberik* 'being without money'.

Some dialects allow *gabe* to occur without a preceding head noun:

(ii) Pipa nerekin daramat, ezin naiteke gabe ta. 'I am carrying my pipe with me, as I cannot stand to be without' (from: P. Berrondo, Oyarzun).

In no Basque dialect, however, can a postposition ever survive without a supporting head present in surface structure. We conclude that *gabe* is not a postposition.

One important observation before closing this section. The partitive postposition *-rik* is restricted to indefinite noun phrases. It is therefore incompatible with demonstratives and other definite determiners. Thus, while, as we saw, the English phrase *the most beautiful of women* readily translates as *emakumerik ederrena,* the phrase *the most beautiful of these women* can be translated in several ways, but not with the partitive (20). We get: *emakume auetan ederrena* (locative plural), *emakume auetatik ederrena* (ablative plural), *emakume auetako ederrena* («relational» genitive plural), *emakume auen artean* (or: *artetik, arteko) ederrena* (literally: 'the most beautiful (from) among these women').

Similarly, *the most beautiful of the women* will be translated as: *emakumeetan ederrena, emakumeetatik ederrena, emakumeetako ederrena,* or, *emakumeen artean (arteko, artetik) ederrena.* Here too, the partitive cannot be used.

A last remark: in all cases, the postposition *-rik* is added directly to its theme. It does not take an intervening marker of indefiniteness, like the locative postpositions do. For the inessive *-n,* e.g., we have the definite forms *zuloan* 'in the hole' and (bi) *zuloetan* 'in the (two) holes', but also the indefinite (bi) *zulotan* 'in (two) holes'. For the partitive, only one form exists: *zulorik.*

We are ready to turn now to the main part of this paper, section IV, where we will deal with the transformational process of Partitive Assignment.

IV. DERIVED USES OF THE PARTITIVE

Consider sentence (4):

(4)   Ijito ori ikusi degu. "We have seen that gypsy' (gypsy that seen have we).

Negating (4), we get sentence (5):

(5)   Ez degu ijito ori ikusi. 'We haven't seen that gypsy'.

The word order in (5) is different from that in (4), because the

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(20)   The existence of the forms *emakume hauetarik* and *emakumeetarik* in the Northern dialects should not lead us astray. These are ablative plural forms. In these dialects, *-etarik* replaces *-etatik* (and even the animate *-engandik*) as the plural form of the ablative postposition *-tik.* The partitive postposition *-rik* has no plural.

negative *ez* attracts the auxiliary *degu,* thus forming one phonological word: *eztegu.*

In the same way, we would expect the negation of (6)a to be (7)a, and that of (6)b to be (7)b:

(6)a   Ijitoa ikusi degu. 'We have seen a gypsy'.

(6)b   Andaluziko ijito bat ikusi degu. 'We have seen a gypsy from Andalusia'.

(7)a   Ez degu ijitoa ikusi. 'We haven't seen the gypsy'.

(7)b   Ez degu Andaluziko ijito bat ikusi. 'We haven't seen one gypsy from Andalusia'.

But, as we see from the glosses, this is not the case. (7)a is not the negation of (6)a, and (7)b is not quite the negation of (6)b. The negations of (6)a and (6)b are (8)a and (8)b, respectively:

(8)a   Ez degu ijitorik ikusi. 'We haven't seen a gypsy'.

(8)b   Ez degu Andaluziko ijitorik ikusi. 'We haven't seen a gypsy from Andalusia'.

This is a strange, or, at least, unexpected, situation. Can we account for it? Yes, we can, if we avail ourselves of the resources of Transformational Grammar.

One way, indeed, of clarifying what is going on, is to postulate the existence of a grammatical transformation. I will call this transformation Partitive Assignment. It applies to an indefinite noun phrase, and is triggered by a negative commanding (21) this noun

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(21) The notion of "command" is due to R. W. Langacker. In his paper "On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command" (published in Reibel and Schane: *Modern Studies in English,* p. 160-186) he defines the concept as follows: "We will say that a node A "commands" another node B if (1)' neither A nor B dominates the other; and (2) the S-node that most immediately dominates A also dominates B" (p. 167).

The condition that the negative commands the noun phrase to which the partitive is assigned will explain e.g. why in the following sentence *oilloa* 'a chicken' cannot be changed to *oillorik* in spite of the preceding negative *ez:*

Ikusi ez nauen ijitoak oilloa arrapatu du. 'The gypsy who hasn't seen me has caught a chicken'.

In this example, the negative *ez* does not command the noun phrase *oilloa,* since the clause (i.e. S-node) that most immediately dominates *ez* is the relative clause *(ijitoak) ikusi ez nau* "(the gypsy) has not seen me", which does not contain (i.e. does not dominate) the noun phrase *oilloa.*

phrase. What it does is Chomsky-adjoin the postposition *-rik* to the right of the noun phrase. (See Fig. 1.)
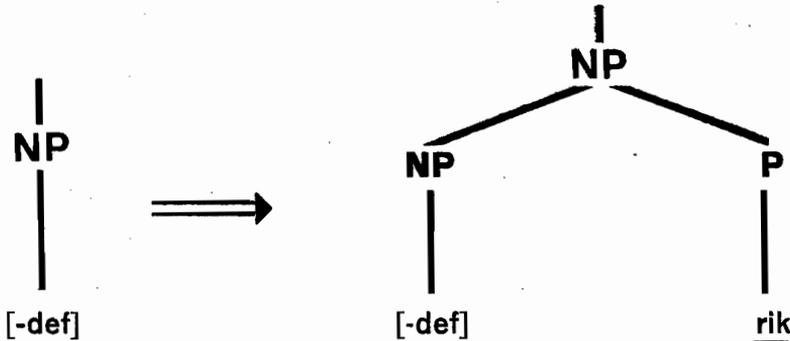

Fig. 1.— Partitive Assignment.

Formulated in this fashion, Partitive Assignment is a standard type rule, allowed by any theory of transformational grammar: Chomsky-adjunction of a designated element. The restriction to indefinite noun phrases is also well known in transformational practice, cf. e.g. the rule of *there*-insertion in English. The requirement that the triggering negative must command the NP node affected by the rule needs no comment. It merely expresses the fact that Partitive Assignment is upward bounded in the sense of Ross (*Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, section 5.1ff), as is the case of the great majority of transformational rules.

Partitive Assignment is blocked when the noun phrase already has a postposition attached to it. Whether this restriction has to be incorporated into the statement of the rule in a more or less ad hoc manner, or can be deduced from some general principle of grammar, is not clear to me at present. If a universal constraint is involved, however, it should be weak enough to allow for the double case-marking which constituents inside relative clauses are subjected to in some Australian languages. (Data from Prof. K. L. Hale, M.I.T.)

Our formulation of Partitive Assignment makes it necessary to postulate a rule of Determiner Deletion. This rule deletes indefinite determiners (indefinite *-a* and its plural *-ak, bat* 'a', and *batzuek* 'some') whenever they are followed by the postposition *-rik*. This way, we get the correct form *ijitorik* in examples (8)a and (8)b. Otherwise, of course, we would end up with the non-existent forms **ijitoarik* and **ijito batik.*

Determiner Deletion, however, is needed anyway, regardless of how we formulate Partitive Assignment. It serves to express the fact that *-rik* is unique among the postpositions of Basque in that it is always added directly to the last noun or adjective of the affected noun phrase, without any intervening determiner. This is true for both basic *-rik* and derived *-rik*. We may contrast this with the behavior of the dative postposition *-ri*. In certain syntactic environments, *-ri* can be added directly to the noun: *iru ijitori* 'to three gypsies', but usually a determiner intervenes: *ijito bati* 'to a gypsy', *ijito batzuei* 'to some gypsies', and with a definite determiner: *ijitoari* 'to the gyjsy', *ijitoai* 'to the gypsies'. With dative *-ri*, there are thus five possible forms; with partitive *-rik* only one: *ijitorik*.

It is, of course, not surprising that there is a rule of Determiner Deletion associated with the postposition *-rik*. From section III, we know that *-rik* is incompatible with definite determiners. The feature indefinite is therefore redundant and needs no manifestation in surface structure. Whether it is actually deleted, or just prevented from being spelled out, is of little importance here.

I am well aware that this treatment of the partitive in Basque is not the only one possible. It is, however, a very natural one, and it provides us with a framework that enables us to describe the distribution of *-rik* in a fairly coherent way. In a sense, our transformational approach reconciles the conflicting views of the native grammarians discussed in section II. Since the combined effect of Partitive Assignment and Determiner Deletion amounts to the substitution of a postposition for an article, we can say that those who, like Azkue, consider *-rik* to be an article, are looking at the deep structure, whereas those who, like Lafitte, consider *-rik* to be a case ending are looking at the surface structure.

Let us now return for a moment to our example sentences (6)-(8).

The theory we have given explains why the negations of (6)a and (6)b have the form of (8)a and (8)b, and not of (7)a and (7)b. But why are (7)a and (7)b still grammatical sentences? The answer is that *-a* in (6)a is ambiguous between a definite and an indefinite article, and *bat* in (6)b between a numeral ('one') and an indefinite article (cf. footnote 15). The indefinite reading of (7)a and (7)b is removed by the obligatory application of Partitive Assignment, and only the other reading remains.

In these examples, Partitive Assignment is triggered by the negative *ez* 'not'. This, however, is not the only negative that can trigger Partitive Assignment. Two others are *ezin* 'impossible' and *nekez* 'hardly':

(9)a Ijito onek ezin du jantzi berririk erosi. 'This gypsy cannot buy new clothes'.
(9)b Nekez arkituko dezu emen ijitorik. 'You will hardly find gypsies here'.

We have seen Partitive Assignment applying in negative contexts. Actually, there is a much wider class of contexts in which Partitive Assignment can apply. There, however, its application tends to be optional, and occasionally subject to idiolectal variation.

These contexts can be listed as follows: (i) - (vi):

(i) Presence of a word meaning 'only': *bakarrik, soillik, txoilki*. Example:
(10)a Orrelako astakeririk Nixonek bakarrik egingo zukean. 'Only Nixon would have made such a blunder'.

It is likely that an underlying negative accounts for the occurrence of the partitive in this example; especially if the underlying structure of (10)a is similar to that of (10)b:

(10)b Iñork ez zukean egingo orrelako astakeririk, Nixonek bai. 'Nobody would have made such a blunder, (but) Nixon has'.
(ii) Presence of the word *beste* 'other' modifying the noun phrase partitivized:
(11)a Ba det beste adiskiderik. 'I have other friends'.
(11)b Gaur, berriz, beste konturik dago. 'Today, however, it's a different story' (A. Zabala, *Bertsolarien Txapelketa 1960*, p. 10).
(iii) Yes-no questions:
(12)a Ijitorik ikusi al dezu? 'Have you seen gypsies?'
(12)b Ogirik ba al dezu? 'Do you have bread?'
(12)c Ardorik nai al dezu? 'Do you want wine?'

If the widely held view among transformational grammarians is correct that the derivation of yes-no questions involves a disjunction of a positive clause with its denial, an underlying negative may be responsible for the occurence of the partitive here.

It is important to note that the partitive in this type of questions may or may not be associated with negative presuppositions or expectations. In other words, the examples given under (12) do not betray a negative expectation on the part of the speaker. They are

negative only in so far as the possibility of a negative answer is left open.

Indirect yes-no questions also allow the partitive:

(12)d   Ijitorik ikusi duen (or: duenetz) galdetu diot. 'I have asked him if he has seen gypsies'.

(12)e   Aitak dirurik emango ote didan ari naiz. 'I am wondering if father will give me money'.

(iv)   Some Wh-questions, namely those that are equivalent to a negative assertion (queclaratives, see footnote 4), or, at least, indicate strong disbelief or consternation on the part of the speaker. Neutral Wh-questions do not allow the partitive:

(13)a   Noiz esan du itzik? 'When has he said a word?'

(13)b   Nun arkituko dezu emen artzik? 'Where will you find bears here?'

(13)c   Zergatik esan bear zizuten itz gaiztorik? 'What did they have to say nasty words to you for?'

(13)d   Zeiñek eman dio dirua? (*dirurik) 'Who has given him money?'

Note the contrast between (13)e and (13)f:

(13)e   Eliza ori zarberritzeko, zeiñek emango luke dirurik? 'Who would give money to renovate that church?'

(13)f   Eliza ori zarberritzeko, zeiñek eman du dirua? (*dirurik). 'Who has given money to renovate that church?' (spoken after the renovation of the church).

(v)   Conditionals:

(14)a   Ijitorik ikusten badezu, esaiezu eztaietara etortzeko. 'If you see gypsies, tell them to come to the wedding'.

(14)b   Babarrunik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitudala itzematen dizut. 'If you eat beans, I promise that I will take you to the movies'.

(vi)   A special class of predicates allow the partitive to occur inside their sentential complements, but not inside the main clause of the predicate. Using a term introduced by E. Klima for a similar situation in English, we may call them «affective» predicates. (see: E. S. Klima, «Negation in English», XV, 41, in J. A. Fodor, J. J. Katz: *The Structure of Language,* p. 246-323). Some members of this class are: all adjectives with the suffix *-egi* 'too'; *sinisgaitz* 'unbelievable', *arrigarri* 'surprising', *zail* 'difficult', *zoro* 'foolish', *arritu,* 'to be sur-

prised', *bildur izan* 'to be afraid', *debekatu* 'to forbid', *ukatu* 'to refuse'. Examples:

(15)a   Ijito au pobreegia da jantzi berririk erosteko. 'This gypsy is too poor to buy new clothes'.

(15)b   Sinisgaitza da artzik emen ikustea. 'Seeing bears here is unbelievable'.

(15)c   Arrigarria da Don Primitivok euskerazko libururik irakurtzea. 'It is surprising that Don Primitivo reads Basque books'.

(15)d   Egun auetan zailla da bizimodurik eskuratzea. 'It is difficult these days to obtain a living'.

(15)e   Ijitorik ezkongai gelditzea zoroa iruditzen zait. 'It seems foolish to me for a gypsy to remain unmarried'.

(15)f   Arritzen naiz ijitorik emen arkitzea. 'I am surprised to find gypsies here'.

(15)g   Martiñi errurik ezarriko zioten bildur zan. 'He was afraid that they would put blame on Martin' (D. Aguirre, *Garoa*, p. 184).

(15)h   Legeak debekatzen du artzik iltzea. 'The law forbids killing bears'.

(15)i   Ijito onek ukatu egin du ardorik edatea. 'This gypsy has refused to drink wine'.

This terminates our listing of the contexts in which Partitive Assignment can operate. We should still point out in this connection that Partitive Assignment can reach down into complement clauses. What this means is that, whenever the partitive can occur in a clause, it can also occur in a sentential complement below that clause. Here are some examples that illustrate this:

(16)a   Ijitorik ikusi dezula uste al du Mirenek? 'Does Miren think that you have seen gypsies?'

(16)b   Egia al da ijitorik ikusi dezula? 'Is it true that you have seen gypsies?'

(16)c   Ijitorik ikusi dezula egia bada, zergatik ez dituzu ekarri? 'If it is true that you have seen gypsies, why didn't you bring them?'

In fact, the triggering element, e.g. the negative *ez* or the interrogative *al*, can be separated from the affected noun phrase by any number of intervening clauses. Thus, the partitive is possible in (16)d, but not in (16)e:

(16)d   Ijitoai dirurik ematera alkatea beartu nai izan zuela esan zidala sinisterazten ez naiz saiatuko. 'I won't try to make people

believe that he told me that he had wanted to force the mayor to give the gypsies money'.

(16)e   Ijitoai dirua (*dirurik) ematera alkatea beartu nai izan zuela esan zidala sinisterazi bear det. 'I must try to make people believe that he told me that he had wanted to force the mayor to give the gypsies money'.

This fact, of course, was the reason why we used the notion of command in the formulation of Partitive Assignment given at the beginning of this section. That the triggering element commands the affected noun phrase, however, is a necessary but not a sufficient condition for partitivization to be possible. A relative clause may be commanded by a negative; but if this relative clause has a definite head noun phrase, it forms a syntactic island opaque to Partitive Assignment. Note the following contrast:

(16)f   Artzik il duen ijitorik ez degu ezagutzen. 'We don't know a gypsy who has killed bears'.

(16)g   Artzak il dituen ijitoa ez degu ezagutzen. 'We don't know the gypsy who has killed bears'.

In (16)g the partitive could not be used: *artzik il duen ijitoa ez degu ezagutzen.

From the fact that the triggering element need not be in the same clause with the noun phrase Partitive Assignment operates on, it can be inferred that this transformation must be postcyclic, that is, unless one accepts a proposal recently made by P.A.M. Seuren. This author argues that for the purpose of deciding whether a certain cyclic transformation can apply or not on a given cycle, the grammar must be allowed to make use of information that is not present in that cycle but is present in some higher one. (See P.A.M. Seuren, «Negative's Travels», in Seuren (ed.), *Semantic Syntax*, Oxford 1974.)

If his view is right, Partitive Assignment could still be a cyclic rule.

Up to now, we have talked about Partitive Assignment as if it were a process completely unique to Basque. The moment has come to bring up a parallel that will have occurred to many readers: the rule that accounts for the distribution of unstressed *any* (and some related forms) in English. This rule was introduced under the name of «Indefinite Incorporation» by E. S. Klima in his pioneering article «Negation in English», published in its final form in 1964

(J. A. Fodor, J. J. Katz (eds.), *The Structure of Language*, p. 246-323), although based on research done nearly five years earlier. In subsequent years, the rule repeatedly figured in linguistic discussions. J. R. Ross used it in his dissertation *Constraints on Variables in Syntax* (1967) as a typical example of a feature-changing rule (section 5.1.3).

R. T. Lakoff discussed it in her dissertation *Abstract Syntax and Latin Complementation* (M.I.T. Press, 1968), and compared it with a similar rule in Latin (sections 4.1 and 4.5). She called it «*some-any* change» (p. 111, 113), a clear misnomer, since neither is the output of the rule necessarily *any*, nor its input *some*, as Klima was careful enough to point out in his section 25.

R. T. Lakoff also wrote an article in *Language* under the title «Some Reasons Why There Can't Be Any *some-any* Rule» (*Lg* 45 (1969) p. 608-615). In it she shows, not that there is no «*some-any* Rule», as the title would lead one to expect, but, rather, that there is such a rule, and that it has the property of being sensitive to presuppositions held by the speaker.

The differences between Basque Partitive Assignment and English Indefinite Incorporation are clear. The latter does not introduce any preposition (the English counterpart of the Basque postposition), and, accordingly, is not restricted to prepositionless noun phrases. But no less clear are the similarities. Both rules act on indefinite noun phrases, without, however, moving them from whatever position they may have in the sentence. Most importantly, they apply in virtually identical environments.

This latter similarity is so striking that it can hardly be due to chance. Basque and English are not genetically related; nor is it likely that a rule of this scope and complexity should have made its appearance in either language by way of some superficial process of borrowing. Thus, the connection between the two processes must be a structural one.

We do not know just what underlying factor characterizes the contexts in which Indefinite Incorporation can apply in English. Klima's introduction of «the grammatico-semantic feature *Affective*» (op. cit. section 41) —a convenient move that greatly simplified later discussions— did not solve the problem but merely named it. Still, whatever its nature, the same factor that triggers Indefinite Incorporation in English also triggers Partitive Assignment in Basque.

At this point, a question must arise. If the exact same factor triggers both rules, why, then, are not the environments exactly identical? We know indeed that they are not. On the one hand, English

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other does not induce Indefinite Incorporation: *I have some other friends*, not **I have any other friends*, but Basque *beste*, which means 'other', does allow Partitive Assignment (see example (11)a). On the other hand, Indefinite Incorporation can apply in the term of comparison in an English comparative: *Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy*. This is not the case for Partitive Assignment in Basque. We have:

(17)a   Miren ijitoa (*ijitorik) baiño ederragoa da. 'Miren is more beautiful than a gypsy'.

In this construction, the partitive form cannot be used. One can use indefinite forms with the prefix *edo* 'any', such as *edozein* 'any kind of' (Spanish *cualquier*), or *edonungo* 'from anywhere'. However, these forms correspond more closely to English stressed *any*, than to the unstressed forms produced by Indefinite Incorporation. See examples (17)b and (17)c.

(17)b   Miren edozein ijito (*ijitorik) baiño ederragoa da. 'Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy whatsoever'.
(17)c   Miren edonungo ijitoa (*ijitorik) baiño ederragoa da. 'Miren is more beautiful than any gypsy whatsoever' (literally: 'than a gypsy from any place whatsoever').

Our task is now to account for the discrepancy we observed between the two rules. I will attempt an explanation in terms of certain differences in structure between Basque and English. If this explanation is correct, we can maintain that both rules are triggered by an identical underlying factor.

My explanation is based on a generalization of a well-known constraint. I want to generalize the constraint on backward pronominalization (for which concept see J. R. Ross, «On the Cyclic Nature of English Pronominalization», *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, II, p. 1669-1682) to cover all non-movement rules that make crucial use of variables. «Non-movement rules» is a more general term than «feature-changing rules», a designation I would like to avoid anyway, because the status of features in syntax generally is not very clear.

I will start from a formulation of this constraint given by J. R. Ross in his dissertation *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*. I quote from section 5.3.2:

«(5.152) *Condition on backward pronominalization.*

If one element precedes another, the second can only pronominalize the first if the first is dominated by a subordinate clause which does not dominate the second.»

I submit that this can be generalized to all non-movement rules that make crucial use of variables, as follows:

Causality Constraint:

If an effect precedes its cause, the effect must be dominated by a subordinate clause which does not dominate the cause.

Corollary: **When cause and effect are clausemates, the cause must precede the effect.**

It is possible to formulate a weaker form of the Causality Constraint which is reminiscent of Langacker's version of the constraint on backward pronominalization. For this version, see R. W. Langacker, «On Pronominalization and the Chain of Command», in Reibel and Schane, *Modern Studies in English,* or Ross's paraphrase of it in *Constraints on Variables in Syntax,* section 5.3.2, formula (5.153).

Causality Constraint (second version):

No effect can both command and precede its cause.

For a rule like pronominalization, which is not upward bounded, the second version of the constraint is weaker than the first. The second, but not the first, would allow backward pronominalization from the rightmost into the leftmost of a pair of conjoined sentences, something we know does not happen.

For upward bounded rules, however, it is easy to see that the two versions are fully equivalent.

My phrasing of the Causality Constraint was, of course, very loose and informal. By «cause», I mean the smallest constituent indicated in the structural description of the rule which can be said to trigger the change. By «effect», I mean the smallest constituent indicated in the structural description of the rule which undergoes the change the rule is designed to carry out.

I do not propose the Causality Constraint as a global constraint,

to be valid throughout the derivation, but as a purely local one, to hold only at the point where the rule in question applies.

Even with these qualifications, my formulation of the constraint leaves much to be desired, but it will do for the purpose at hand.

Consider the problem with *beste* and *other*. Since Basque *beste* 'other' can induce the partitive on the noun phrase it introduces, we will infer that English *other* has the same virtue with respect to Indefinite Incorporation. However, because of the Causality Constraint, this virtue will never be actualized. Compare the order of terms in the corresponding phrase *beste adiskide batzuek* and *some other friends*. In Basque, there is no problem. The partitive is a suffix on the noun phrase, and *beste* invariably precedes the head noun. Therefore, the partitivized form *beste adiskiderik* can be generated. But, in English, the determiner *some* precedes *other* in the surface structure, and, in all likelihood, in every underlying structure as well. Hence our Corollary prevents *other* from changing the preceding *some* to *any*.

For the comparative, the same situation obtains in reverse. In the English phrase *more beautiful than any gypsy* the factor that triggers Indefinite Incorporation necessarily precedes the noun phrase *any gypsy*, which can be, indeed, the rightmost constituent of the sentence. But in the Basque phrase *ijitoa baiño ederrago*, *baiño* 'than' always follows the noun *ijito*, which could be sentence initial. Assuming that at the moment when Partitive Assignment should apply, *ijitoa* is no longer dominated by a subordinate clause, the Causality Constraint will bar the rule from applying.

It is true that this argument is not absolutely airtight, since I do not know in detail how comparatives are derived, either in English or in Basque. To destroy it, one might argue that the surface structure order does not reflect the deep structure order, and that Indefinite Incorporation or Partitive Assignment apply early enough as to be dependent on this deeper order. That this may be the case is perhaps not entirely inconceivable. Yet, for the time being, I can see little reason to believe in this counter-argument, especially if Partitive Assignment is indeed, as I think it is, a postcyclic rule.

We have left to show that the Causality Constraint is consistent with the way Indefinite Incorporation and Partitive Assignment apply in the other cases. We do not have to worry about «affective» predicates (cf. examples (15)a - (15)i), since they take effect only inside their sentential complements. No matter what the linear order is between the affected noun phrase and the affective predicate, the Causality Constraint is automatically satisfied.

For English Indefinite Incorporation, the matter is relatively clear with respect to the other conditioning environments of the rule. Conditionals show an initial marker, the conjunction *if*, which can be taken to trigger the rule. Questions of all types are introduced by a Wh-complementizer or something of the sort (22), probably at all levels between deep and shallow structure. As for negation, it is generally agreed that it passes through sentence-initial position, and, then, goes on to preverbal position by the transformation of Neg. Placement. Now, if Indefinite Incorporation precedes Neg. Placement, we have no problem, for the negative morpheme will precede any noun phrase in the sentence. But if it follows, there is also no problem; the Causality Constraint will explain nicely why *Some gypsy is not happy* cannot be converted by Indefinite Incorporation to *Any gypsy is not happy*.

So much for English. We now turn again to Partitive Assignment in Basque. We will first look at conditional sentences. Consider (14)a.

(14)a   Ijitorik ikusten badezu, ... 'If you see gypsies, ...'

Sentence (14)a seems to contradict the Causality Constraint, because the partitive noun phrase *ijitorik* 'gypsies' precedes the conditional morpheme *ba*. Note, however, that there is a more emphatic variant of (14)a, namely (14)aa, which has another conditional morpheme *baldin* 'if' in sentence-initial position:

(14)aa   Baldin ijitorik ikusten badezu, ... 'If you see gypsies, ...'

I will assume, now, that all conditional sentences are introduced by *baldin* at some level of underlying structure. Partitive Assignment, then, takes place before *baldin* is deleted, generating (14)a; or is moved onto the finite verb, generating: *ijitorik ikusten baldin badezu*, which is also a grammatical sentence.

To account for the partitive in questions, I will take a similar tack. There is a particle *ea* (often glossed in Spanish as «*a ver*»), which optionally introduces dependent questions:

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(22) For relevant discussions on the structure of English questions, see C. L. Baker, "Notes on the Description of English Questions: The Role of an Abstract Question Morpheme", *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), p. 197-219, and J. W. Bresnan, "On Complementizers: Toward a Syntactic Theory of Complement Types", *Foundations of Language* 6 (1970), p. 297-321.

Naturally, one need not accept the whole theoretical framework of either of these authors, in order to agree that English questions have an initial marker of some sort.

(12)dd   Ea ijitorik ikusi duen galdetu diot. 'I have asked him if
   he has seen gypsies'.

Independent questions have emphatic variants with *ea*. So (12)a
has the variant (12)aa:

(12)a   Ijitorik ikusi al dezu? 'Have you seen gypsies?'
(12)aa   Ea ijitorik ikusi dezun? 'I am asking you: have you seen
   gypsies?'

On the basis of this evidence, I will assume that all questions
are introduced by *ea* and that Partitive Assignment precedes the
process by which *ea* is converted to preverbal *al* in Guipúzcoan, to
preverbal *ahal* in Labourdin, and to postverbal *-a* in Low Navarrese
and Souletin. Cf. Low Navarrese *xitorik ikhusi duzuya?* 'have you
seen gypsies?', where *duzuya* derives from *duzu + a.*

In this connection, it is interesting to report an observation made
by H. Gavel in his *Grammaire Basque,* Chapter II, p. 33. Gavel
noticed that questions that are not syntactically marked as interro-
gative, but are marked only by intonation (e.g. *etorriko zera?* 'you'll
come?' instead of *etorriko al zera?* 'will you come?'), as a rule, do
not admit the partitive: **Ogirik nahi duzu?* 'You want any bread?'
It is natural to interpret the absence of the syntactic marking as the
absence of *ea.* What is left is only a suprasegmental question
morpheme realized as a rising intonation at the end of the sentence.
Being sentence-final, it is barred from inducing the partitive by
virtue of the Causality Constraint.

We will now consider negation. The English sentence *No gypsy
came* can be translated in three ways, depending on considerations
of topic and focus. We have (18)a, (18)b and (18)c:

(18)a   Ez zan etorri ijitorik (semantically unmarked form). 'No
   gypsy came'.
(18)b   Ez zan ijitorik etorri (*ijito* in focus). 'No *gypsy* came' (i.e. 'It
   was (the) gypsies who didn't come').
(18)c   Ijitorik ez zan etorri (*ijito* as topic). 'As for gypsies, none
   came'.

I will postulate that at one stage (23) of their derivation, all

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(23) I subscribe to a view of grammar in which negation starts out as a
higher predicate and is then lowered into its sentential complement by a cyclic
rule. As this rule, in all likelihood, is early enough to precede Partitive Assignment,
and as we defined the Causality Constraint as a local constraint, these consid-
erations are irrelevant to our present concern.

negatives have the form *Ez* S. In other words, Basque, which is an underlyingly verb final language, nevertheless has presentential negation at some point in the derivational history of its negative sentences. If this is correct, an underlying order for all three sentences above is given in (18)d:

(18)d *Ez ijitoa etorri zan.

(18)d is not a possible surface order, because the negation *ez* will obligatorily attract the auxiliary *zan*.

(18)c, then, is derived by Topicalization. In Basque, topics conserve any case-marker they may have. Hence, Topicalization follows all Case-Marking Rules. It is therefore not surprising to see, from example (18)c, that it also follows Partitive Assignment.

Thus, in Basque as well as in English, we have found the operation of the respective rules consistent with the Causality Constraint (quod erat demonstrandum). I have not shown, of course, that the Causality Constraint must be valid. Nor have I shown that the differences we observed between Basque and English cannot be explained any other way. All I can hope to have shown is that the Causality Constraint stands up to preliminary scrutiny, explains some otherwise puzzling facts, and therefore deserves closer investigation.

This conclusion ought to have marked the end of this section. But there is one aspect of Partitive Assignment we have still to discuss, namely, its restriction to indefinite noun phrases. We will now study cases where it seems that a definite noun phrase has undergone Partitive Assignment.

Elderly informants from Northern Guipúzcoa reported sentences like the following as used by their parents:

(19)a Ez da gaur gure aitarik Donostira joango. 'My father won't go to San Sebastian today'.
(19)b Gaur gure aitarik Donostira joango balitz, legatza ekarriko liguke. 'If my father were to go to San Sebastian today, he would bring us codfish'.
(19)c Gaur gure neskarik ikusi al dezu dantzan? 'Have you seen our girl at the dance today?'

In these sentences, the partitive noun phrase has a unique referent: there is only one father in (19)a and (19)b, and (19)c could be spoken by a member of a family with only one girl. So it seems that Partitive Assignment has applied to underlying definite noun phrases.

When I asked younger speakers about these sentences, their reactions varied. Some considered them totally unacceptable. Others found that they could be used, but only in case the speaker is very angry or intensely impatient. One informant gave me this sentence as one he would be apt to use himself:

(19)d Ez da gaur nere emazterik Donostira joango! 'No wife of mine will go to San Sebastian today!'

He commented that this was a very emphatic emotional statement, which must be pronounced with an angry intonation.

However, there is nothing particularly emphatic or emotional about the next example, which is taken from a foreword written by A. Iturria to the third edition (1956) of the famous novel *Garoa*:

(19)e Bera ez mintzeko, ez det emen bere izenik aipatuko (p. vii). 'Not to hurt his feelings, I won't mention here his name'.

In the examples we have seen so far, we found the partitive occurring on an inalienably possessed noun phrase. There are also examples of the partitive with a proper name. In the translation of the four Gospels, *Lau Ebanjelioak* (Zarauz, 1961), brought out by the Franciscans of Aránzazu, we read in a footnote to Lk. 2.43:

(19)f ..., orduan konturatuko ziran Maria ta Jose Jesus-ik etzala an eta billa asi ziran. '..., it was then that Mary and Joseph must have realized that Jesus was not there, and began to look for him'.

We find such examples in other dialects too.

The next example is from the Souletin dialect of Tardets. It is taken from a story told by Fabien Hastoy and cited by R. M. Azkue in his work *Euskalerriaren Yakintza*, II, p. 317.

(19)g ...Sanctificetur-ik eztüzü haboro, barda otsuak yan beiteit. '... there is no Sanctificetur anymore, for he got eaten by a wolf yesterday night'.

The following example is cited by H. Gavel in his *Grammaire Basque*, Chapter II, p. 34. He does not indicate the source of his quotation, which is undoubtedly Labourdin.

(19)h Besubioko mendiak aurthiki zuen su eta hauts, eta etzen Pompeirik gehiago izan. 'Mount Vesuvius threw up fire and ashes, and there was no Pompeii anymore'.

Another example from Labourdin is found in the play *Hilla esposatu* (ed. Auspoa, 1965) written by Piarres Larzabal (born in Ascain):

(19)i Ttantta Adelak, ez du gehiago aitarik nahi (p. 118). 'Aunt Adela doesn't want father anymore'.

Here *aitarik* stands for *gure aitarik*: the sentence is concerned with the father of the speaker, the girl Mayi, not with the father of Aunt Adela.

Domingo Aguirre's famous novel *Garoa* ('*Fern*') abounds with examples of the type we are studying. With those, we are back in the Guipúzcoan dialect, which Aguirre, though himself a speaker of Bizcayan (born in Ondárroa), used in this novel, written around 1907. We will quote six examples from it:

(19)j I ba-ua, Moxolorik ez den agertuko (p. 253). 'If you go, Moxolo isn't going to appear'.

(19)k Ez nion nere baimenik iñola emango (p. 228). 'Under no circumstances would I give him my permission'.

(19)l Ez da Kataliñek eta amonak nai dutenik gertatuko oraingoan (p. 217). 'This time, what Katalin and grandmother want, will not happen'.

(19)m Baiña gaur ez dezu nere arrebarik ikusiko (p. 247). 'But you are not going to see my sister today'. (Meant as a prohibition, not as a prediction.)

(19)n Ez zan geiago Pedro Migelen izenik entzun Azkarragako ba-serrian (p. 207). 'The name of Pedro Miguel wasn't heard anymore on the Azkarraga farm'.

(19)o Ez siñistu nere burua botako dedanik, ez siñistu! Ez nere bururik, besteren batena, zurea, botako det... (p. 214). 'Don't believe that I will throw my head (i.e. myself) down the cliffs, don't believe it! Not my head, but that of someone else, yours, I will throw...'.

Should we now relax the condition on Partitive Assignment, and claim that the transformation applies to noun phrases which are

either indefinite, or proper names, or inalienably possessed? I think not, for more than one reason.

First of all, we are bound to suspect that there is something wrong with any rule plagued by a disjunctive condition. More often than not, either two or more rules have been mashed together, or a significant generalization has been missed.

Secondly, if we simply make Partitive Assignment applicable to definite noun phrases, we fail to account for the typical flavor of our example sentences. Compare e.g. (19)d with the more common (19)dd:

(19)dd   Ez da gaur nere emaztea Donostira joango! 'My wife won't go to San Sebastian today!'

While there is no doubt that (19)d and (19)dd are cognitively synonymous, (19)d is certainly more than a mere variant of (19)dd generated by an optional application of Partitive Assignment to the definite noun phrase *nere emaztea* 'my wife'.

Thirdly, our whole argument is based on a misconception in the first place. What reason do we have, after all, to assume that in the examples we gave Partitive Assignment has applied to definite noun phrases? Surely no reason of grammatical form, since possessed noun phrases and proper names occur in definite as well as in indefinite constructions: *gure neska bat* 'a girl of ours' and *Albert Einstein bat* 'an Albert Einstein'. Nor do semantic considerations involving reference imply anything about definiteness or indefiniteness. *Henry Kissinger* and *a certain Henry Kissinger* are both uniquely referring noun phrases. Yet, one is definite and the other is indefinite.

We thus find we have no real basis for the claim that Partitive Assignment can apply to definite noun phrases. Still, our examples are exceptional in some way, and we must try to account for that.

For this purpose, we return to sentence (19)d and ask what happens when we substitute a transitive verb, say *egin* 'do' for the intransitive verb *joan* 'go'. We do this because the subject of a transitive verb will be in the ergative case, and, thus, unable to undergo Partitive Assignment.

(20)a   Nere emazteak ez du olakorik egingo. 'My wife won't do any such thing'.

(20)b   Nere emazte batek ez du olakorik egingo! 'A wife of mine won't do any such thing!'

Now, (20)a with the definite noun phrase *nere emazteak* 'my wife (ergative)', while a possible sentence, does not match (19)d in emotional emphasis. Rather, what we get, with the same angry intonation of (19)d, is (20)b, which has the indefinite noun phrase *nere emazte batek* 'a wife of mine (ergative)'. Of course, neither (20)b nor (19)d contradicts the pragmatic assumption that a Basque husband cannot have more than one wife.

On further analysis, (20)b turns out to be ambiguous. It may mean (i) or (ii):

(i) It is inconceivable that someone who is married to me would do any such thing.
(ii) It is inconceivable that someone who is like my wife is, would do any such thing.

On interpretation (i), (20)b can be derived from (20)c by *dalako*-Deletion.

(20)c Nere emaztea dalako batek ez du olakorik egingo! 'A *wife* of mine won't do any such thing!'

The adjective *dalako* consists of three elements: the relational suffix *-ko*, the complementizer *-la* and the copula *da* 'is'. It serves to emphasize the functional character of the noun *emazte* here; in other words, it brings out the opaque reading of (20)b. The normal relativized form of the copula, *dan* 'who is', does not distinguish between opaque and transparent readings.

I will not try to analyse the phrase *nere emaztea dalako bat* here in terms of underlying structure. I may note, though, that apart from the meaning we are concerned with here, namely the opaque reading of 'one who is my wife', it can also have the meaning of 'one who passes for my wife'. *Dalako*-Deletion does not apply to this counterfactual *dalako*.

On interpretation (ii), (20)b can be derived from (20)d by *bezelako*-Deletion.

(20)d Nere emaztea bezelako batek ez du olakorik egingo! 'Someone like my wife won't do any such thing!'

Bezela means 'like'; the relational suffix *-ko* is needed to turn this into a prenominal modifier.

When the head of the partitive noun phrase is a proper noun,

we are usually dealing with a case of *bezelako*-Deletion. For instance, *jesus-ik* in (19)f probably derives from *jesus bezelakorik* 'anyone like Jesus'. (Note that *like* is a reflexive predicate.)

Yet, proper names can also co-occur with *dalako,* even though they do not denote functions. Mugica's *Diccionario Castellano-Vasco* gives this example (under *tal,* p. 1695): «me lo ha dicho un tal Antonio: Andoni dalako batek esan dit» ('A certain Anthony has told me so'). And under *llamado* (p. 1125): «un hombre llamado Zacarías: Zakarias izeneko (izendun, dalako, ...) gizon bat» ('A man called Zacharias'). L. Michelena has used this construction in one of his essays: «Zapata delako baten emaztea...» ('The wife of a certain Zapata...') *Mitxelenaren Idazlan Hautatuak,* p. 242. In that example, the word *delako* (an eastern dialectal variant of *dalako*) could have been dispensed with. It is only there to make clear that the preceding word *Zapata* is the name of a person.

It is likely that in all of these constructions, some form of the word *izen* 'name', has been deleted. Most probably the instrumental *izenez* 'by name'.

With these rules of *bezelako*-Deletion and *dalako*-Deletion (to which we may add *izeneko*-Deletion), we have enough machinery to account for the indefiniteness of the partitivized noun phrases in our examples. In the case of (19)e, *bere izenik* 'any name of his', or (19)n, *Pedro Migelen izenik* 'any name of Pedro Miguel', however, we can also think of the fact that someone may be identifiable by more than one name: a nick-name, or a special name as a bertsolari ('bard') or as a poet.

A last question remains. Why would the speaker have chosen an indefinite noun phrase where he could have used a definite one? The answer is interesting. Note that our set of examples consists of negations, conditionals, and questions. Now, a negative statement about some non-specific noun phrase implies the corresponding negative statement with any specific noun phrase (taken from the range of that non-specific noun phrase) substituted for the non-specific one, but not vice-versa. So e.g., the statement «I don't want any book» implies «I don't want this book». For positive statements, of course, this does not hold: «I want a book» does not imply «I want this book». But for conditionals it does hold: «If you want to read any book, you are an intellectual» implies «If you want to read this book, you are an intellectual». Therefore, in negations and conditionals, indefinites make for stronger statements than definites do. We now see the connection with the emotional ring attached to many of the examples in our set. In an emotional frame of mind,

we tend to make stronger (more «emphatic») statements than would be strictly necessary.

It is therefore not surprising that we find English examples similar to the Basque ones. As J. D. McCawley has pointed out to me, it may be just because he realizes that he has only one gall-bladder, that an unwilling patient says to his surgeon: «You shan't take out any gall-bladder of mine!».

I do not see any general relationship between definites and indefinites in questions. But in the case of our example (19)c, the matter is clear enough. There, any answer to the indefinite question will also be an answer to the definite question: Gaur gure neska ikusi al dezu dantzan? 'Have you seen our girl at the dance today?', without loss of information, because of the pragmatic knowledge on the part of the speaker that there is only one girl in the family. The indefinite question is, therefore, at least as strong as the definite one would have been.

Now that we know that Partitive Assignment applies only to indefinite noun phrases, it is interesting to note that sentential nouns, namely those ending in -te or -tze (depending on the verb), can take the partitive ending in certain contexts without any special intonation. This means that those sentential nouns (a type of embedded sentence) must be construed as indefinite, at least in affective contexts.

Examples are (with the verbal nouns *joate* 'going, to go', *ikuste* 'seeing, to see', and *siñiste* 'believing, to believe'):

(21)a   Ijitoak bere alaba Donostira joaterik ez du nai. 'The gypsy does not want his daughter to go to San Sebastian'.
(21)b   Nere emazteak ijito ori ikusterik uste al dezu? 'Do you think that my wife would see that gypsy?'
(21)c   Ipui au siñisterik ezin dizut eskatu. 'I cannot ask you to believe this story'.

V.   PARTITIVE MODIFIERS

Except for a few marked otherwise, all examples in the preceding pages were taken from Guipúzcoan. But the phenomena we discussed are not restricted to any particular dialect. In fact, the use of the partitive in affective contexts is a constant feature of all Basque dialects from the earliest texts on.

This is not the case for the use of the partitive suffix which we are going to consider in this section, namely, that on (post-nominal) modifiers. In affective contexts, the assignment of the

partitive ending to a postnominal modifier was implicit in our treatment in section IV. As suffixes in Basque are always added to the last constituent of a noun phrase, the partitive will occur on the modifier, if there is one, and not on the head noun. E.g.

(22)   Ez det ijito itsusirik ezagutzen. 'I don't know an ugly gypsy'.

This section, however, will concern the use of the partitive on postnominal modifiers in purely affirmative, usually existential, contexts. This is found in the Northern dialects: Labourdin, Low Navarrese and Souletin. It does not happen in Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan. For the High Navarrese area, I do not dispose of enough data to warrant any conclusion.

As in all other cases, here too, the partitive ending appears only on indefinites and only in the absolute case.

Is this modifier -*rik* a basic use of -*rik* or a derived one? Strictly speaking, it is neither. It is not a basic -*rik*, because it does not function as a postposition. (Cf. our criterion (i) of section III.) And if it is a derived -*rik*, it must be derived by some rule other than Partitive Assignment, since this rule only applies in affective contexts, and makes no special provisions for modifiers. In fact, I have no theory to propose to account for this use of -*rik*. This being so, I will limit myself to illustrating the use of this -*rik* by means of examples.

As demonstratives, being restricted to definite noun phrases, do not qualify, there are only two kinds of postnominal modifiers left: adjectives and (pseudo-)extraposed relative clauses. We will first look at adjectives.

Consider the following sentences in Labourdin:

(23)a   Ijitoak ba dira Frantzian. 'There are gypsies in France'.
(23)b   *Ijitorik ba da Frantzian. (Only possible as an exclamation, see section III.)
(23)c   Ijito ederrak ba dira Frantzian. 'There are beautiful gypsies in France'.
(23)d   Ijito ederrik ba da Frantzian. 'There are beautiful gypsies in France'.
(24)a   Arnoa ba dugu. 'We have wine'.
(24)b   *Arnorik ba dugu. (Same remark as for (23)b.)
(24)c   Arno goxoa ba dugu. 'We have sweet wine'.
(24)d   Arno goxorik ba dugu. 'We have sweet wine'.
(25)a   Sagarrak ba ditugu. 'We have apples'.

(25)b   *Sagarrik ba dugu. (Same remark as above.)
(25)c   Sagar onak ba ditugu. 'We have good apples'.
(25)d   Sagar onik ba dugu. 'We have good apples'.

According to the grammarian P. Lafitte (*Grammaire basque,* § 160.3), the *d*-sentences are emphatic, whereas the *c*-sentences are not. He does not explain in what way they are emphatic, i.e. in what circumstances the *d*-sentences would be used preferably to the *c*-sentences.

Separate mention must be made of the partitive appearing on adjectives in the comparative degree (suffix *-ago*), for this happens also in some regions where ordinary adjectives do not take the partitive in positive contexts. A case in point is the border area between Guipúzcoan and High Navarrese. Luis Michelena who was born in that area (in Rentería), has written this sentence:

(26)a   Erabaki gogorragorik artu bearrean aurkitu ziren bai Cesar Rubicon ibaia igarotzerakoan eta bai Cortés ontziak zulatu aurrean (*Egan* 1956 (1) p. 52, reprinted in *Mitxelenaren Idezlan Hautatuak,* p. 325). 'Both Caesar about to cross the Rubicon river and Cortés before sinking the boats, found themselves having to make a harder decision'.

In this dialect, it is not possible to change *gogorrago* 'harder' to *gogor* 'hard' while keeping the partitive.

Here is a shorter example, acceptable to Mr. Michelena, but rejected by speakers from more central parts of Guipúzcoa:

(26)b   Geroago liburu zaillagorik irakurriko dezute. 'Later on, you will read more difficult (harder) books'.

With this, we leave adjectives and turn to relative clauses.

Relative clauses in Basque normally precede their antecedents. However, they can become postnominal by a process I have called «pseudo-extraposition», which is such that the relative clause and its antecedent each carry their own determiner. (See my paper: «Relative Clauses in Basque: a Guided Tour», in Peranteau, Levi, Phares (eds.), *The Chicago Which Hunt* (C.L.S., Chicago, 1972) p. 115-135, especially p. 129-131.)

When its antecedent is indefinite, a pseudo-extraposed relative clause can optionally take the partitive in some, but not all, Northern (sub)dialects.

The two examples that follow have been taken from a Basque translation of Saki's short story «The Story-Teller» made by the late Souletin author Jon Mirande, and published in the Basque literary review *Egan*.

(27)a ...neskatxa ttipi bat ba zen ona zenik, (*Egan* 1956, p. 20). '...there was a little girl who was good,'.
(27)b Behin ba zen Bertha izeneko neskatxa ttipi bat ohi ez den bezala ona zenik (*Egan* 1956, p. 21). 'Once upon a time, there was a little girl called Bertha, who was extraordinarily good'.

Examples of this type abound in Leizarraga's New Testament Version (1571):

(27)c Izan da gizon bat Iainkoaz igorria, Ioanes deitzen zenik (Jn. 1.6). 'There was a man sent by God, who was called John'.
(27)d Zen bada Phariseuetarik edozein bat, Nikodemo deitzen zenik (Jn. 3.1). 'There was, then, somebody of the Pharisees, who was called Nicodemus'.

And an example with two relative clauses on the same antecedent, *ikhuzgarri bat* 'a (washing) pool':

(27)e Eta da Ierusalemen ardi plazán ikhuzgarri bat, Hebraikoz Bethesdá deitzen denik, bortz galeria dituenik (Jn. 5.2). 'And there is in Jerusalem by the sheep market a pool, which is called Bethesda in Hebrew, which has five porticoes'.

With the possible exception of (27)a, all preceding examples involved non-restrictive (i.e. appositive) relatives. Here is one with a restrictive relative:

(27)f Bertze bat da testifikatzen duenik nitzaz (Jn. 5.32). 'There is another who bears witness to me'.

There is another circumstance, not requiring pseudo-extraposition, under which relative clauses can take the partitive ending. This is when we have a so-called free relative, i.e., a relative clause with a pronoun as its antecedent. When this pronoun is indefinite, the relative clause may take the partitive in existential contexts. According to L. Michelena (personal communication), this happens in the Eastern dialects, that is, in all dialects except Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan.

We start with an example from Leizarraga's New Testament Version:

(28)a   Ba da bilhatzen duenik eta jugeatzen duenik (Jn. 8.50). 'There is one who seeks it and who judges (it)'.

A modern Souletin version has a different construction with no partitive here:

(28)b   Ba da nurbait hura txerkhatzen diana eta jüjatzen diana (Üskaldünaren güthünak, p. 94). 'There is someone who seeks that and who judges (it)'.

But Miss Madeleine de Jauréguiberry, born and raised in the High-Souletin dialect area (near Tardets), has informed me that a construction similar to (28)a, namely (28)c, is possible in that dialect:

(28)c   Ba da hori txerkhatzen dianik eta jüjatzen dianik. 'There is one who seeks that and who judges (it)'.

The next example is taken from Axular's famous work *Gero,* first published in 1643.

(28)d   Izatu da erran duenik denbora eztela deus, hartzaz orhoitzapenik eta pensatzerik eztenean (Chapter XII, p. 219). 'There have been some (people) who have said that time is nothing when one does not remember it and think about it'.

In connection with this example, L. Michelena has told me that a similar sentence is acceptable in his dialect:

(28)e   Esan duenik ba da, denbora eztela deus. 'There are some (people) who have said that time is nothing'.

In fact, the following example occurs in his writings:

(28)f   Ba da oraindik haren ateraldi eta erantzunak gogoan dituenik Errenterian (Epilogue of *Mitxelenaren Idazlan Hautatuak,* p. 367). 'There are still some (people) in Rentería who remember her witty remarks and repartees'.

VI.   CONCLUDING REMARKS

It will be obvious to any reader that this essay is not much more than a preliminary study of the problems surrounding the suffix

-rik. Various matters of great interest had to be ignored. Thus, no mention was made of the «partitivized» complementizer *-nik,* which, in the Guipúzcoan and Bizcayan dialects, may substitute for the unmarked complementizer *-la* in what appears to be a subset of the class of affective contexts. A few examples to illustrate this:

(29)a Ez det uste laister itzuliko diranik. 'I don't think that they will come back soon'.

(29)b Iñork ez daki ezkondua naizenik. 'Nobody knows that I am married'.

(29)c Gezurra dirudi Mirenek ori esan duenik. 'It seems a lie that Miren has said that'.

(29)d Uste al dezute dirua nik ostu dedanik? 'Do you think that I have stolen the money?'

Examples of a different type are shown in (30)a and (30)b.

(30)a Ez dakigu nor danik (*Lau Ebanjelioak,* p. 246). 'We don't know who he is'.

(30)b Noiz etorriko zeranikan ere ez dakit. 'I don't even know when you will come'.

The problems that these constructions raise will have to await their solutions elsewhere.

Another topic for further research is the role of presuppositions in those contexts where Partitive Assignment seems to be optional. This role seems to be less important than it is in the case of English Indefinite Incorporation. The informants I have asked did not discriminate between (31)a and (31)b:

(31)a Sagarrik jaten badezu, autsiko dizkizut ezurrak. 'If you eat (any) apples, I will break your bones'.

(31)b Sagarrik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitut. 'If you eat (*any) apples, I will take you to the movies'.

Remember that these informants also accept (14)b, which I repeat here for convenience:

(14)b Babarrunik jaten badezu, zinera eramango zaitudala itzematen dizut. 'If you eat (*any) beans, I promise that I will take you to the movies'.

Last but not least, Basque Partitive Assignment should be compared with similar rules in other languages. Among the candidates are: Finnish Partitive Introduction (See Ross, *Constraints on Variables in Syntax*, Formula (5.85)) and Russian Genitive Introduction (idem, Formula (5.92)).

Talking about these non-movement rules, a lot more research is also needed to test the Causality Constraint which I proposed as a putative universal for all such rules that make crucial use of variables.

But, «gero gerokoak» (24).

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(24) A Basque saying: 'Later things for later'. Right now, however, I wish to thank my many friends and patient informants all over the Basque Country for the great help they have been to me in the process of gathering the data. They are too many to list here, but I cannot refrain from mentioning the names of a few who have been especially helpful in this connection: Miss Mari-Carmen Garmendia, Miss Mari-Pilar Lasarte, Mr. Xabier Unzurrunzaga, Mr. Felipe Yurramendi. I am also greatly indebted to Prof. Dr. Luis Michelena for a great deal of valuable information and help, generously offered. I am very grateful too to Prof. Dr. William H. Jacobsen, Jr. and Mrs. Virginia Jacobsen for their constant encouragement and for many substantial suggestions, stylistic corrections, and proof-reading.

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Two Borrowed Sound Changes

in Basque

Carlos Zarabozo

In Robert King's textbook on historical linguistics and generative grammar we find the following statement concerning one aspect of the borrowing of phonological rules between dialects and between languages (1):

> We hypothesize that in borrowing, in general, rules are simplified rather than complicated. That is, a rule is borrowed with the same or greater generality, but not with lessened generality... This assumption runs counter to a widely held view of transmission of rules which holds that rules tend to narrow in generality as they spread farther from the point of origin (pp. 91-92).

There are two cases of presumed borrowing in Basque for which this assumption is not valid. The first such case is the Souletin fronting of /u/ to /ü/ (2), thought to be borrowed from French (Bearnese, technically). To refute King's claim in this instance it is sufficient to point out that, unlike Bearnese, Souletin does not front /u/ in all environments. Furthermore, the spread of the rule conforms to the wave theory, according to Lafon (p. 98), since it appears to become less general the farther away one goes from the area bordering Bearn. This does not necessarily disprove King's hypothesis, which in any event is said to be true only «in general», since it could be claimed that fronting of /u/ in Bearnese and Souletin are

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(1) A similar statement can be found in Bach and Harms (p. 2), which is not surprising since King cites the works of each as the basis for his hypothesis. The theory is also commented on in Vennemann (1972, p. 865, ftnt. 3).

(2) I use diagonals rather loosely, not necessarily intending to claim systematic phonemic status for any of the sounds. One could argue, for example, that /ü/ is not an underlying phoneme, or that what is treated as /y/ is actually /i/.

independent developments, or a disclaimer could be added to the effect that the hypothesis need not hold if the borrowing involves a marked sound such as /ü/. The second example of a borrowed rule not conforming to King's theory is the change of /y/ to /x/ in Spanish Basque, to be discussed below.

Aside from their interest as regards theories of borrowing, each of these sound changes touches on other areas of phonological theory. A question that arises twice in dealing with the restrictions on the change of /u/ to /ü/ in Souletin is how to state the rule: how to state the environment in which the rule is operative (or not operative), and how to state the rule formally.

It is known that the fronting of /u/ in Souletin is prevented by a following apical /ś/ or a simple (as opposed to multiple or trilled) /r/ (Lafon, pp. 85-87): /selü/ 'sky, heaven' (< Latin CAELU); /gü/ 'we', /gure/ 'our'; /hütś/ 'empty' (/hutś/ or /utś/ in other dialects); /hur/ 'water'. Lafon believes that a following /nk/ also prevents the fronting, but since Michelena (p. 53) doubts the generality of the claim and Gavel (pp. 40-41 and ff.) makes no mention of it, I will concentrate on defining in terms of features the supposedly natural class consisting of the two sounds /ś/ and /r/.

In the Chomsky-Halle system the only non-redundant feature shared by these two sounds is coronality (3). To exclude other sounds it is necessary to take into account the following features: (a) continuance, to exclude /t, d, n, tś/; (b) distributedness, the feature distinguishing /ś/ and /s/; (c) laterality, to exclude /l/; and (d) tenseness, to exclude /R/. As for /R/, Otero (p. 290, agreeing with Chomsky-Halle (p. 326)) states for Spanish that /r/ and /R/ differ only in that the latter has heightened subglottal pressure; Harris (pp. 46-48) says that /R/ is tense and perhaps a noncontinuant and nonvocalic. I will assume that /R/ and /r/ as systematic phonemes agree in all features except tenseness, not solely for the sake of convenience but also because this feature is the one Michelena uses in historical reconstruction to distinguish /R/ and /r/ as well as /tś/ and /ś/. (It will be shown that if in the context of this paper /tś/ is considered the tense counterpart of /ś/, the absence of the

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(3) In not considering /ś/ [+ anterior] I am reluctantly following Harris, who states (p. 192) that /ś/ is best defined as non-anterior because of its "retracted, quasi-retroflex articulation". It is still alveolar, however, and a case could be made for classifying it as an anterior sound. (As will be seen later, it would be convenient for /ś/ and /r/ both to be anterior, since anteriority is descriptive of a region of articulation rather than a manner.)

change of /au/ to /ai/ before /ś, tś, r, R, l/ (Lafon, p. 93) is
easily stated as a simplification of the rule fronting /u/.) The na-
tural class formed by /ś/ and /r/ is, then,

[+coronal, +continuant, −tense, −distributed, −lateral]

The feature specification as it stands does not make clear why
the two sounds should form a natural class and are not merely an
idiosyncratic pairing. One could doubt the naturalness of the
proposed class, but there is at least one other situation in which the
two sounds appear to pattern together, and that is in the Old Spanish
monophthongization of /ye/ to /i/. According to Malkiel (p. 59),
this «limited» and irregular change (*aviespa* became *avispa*, e.g., but
siesta remained unchanged) is caused by «(a) an adjacent or, at
least, not too far removed *l* or *r* (better still, *R* and *r*) and (b) the
characteristic Castilian apico-alveolar /ś/».

The naturalness of the grouping together of /ś/ and /r/ becomes
clearer if the sound change under discussion is looked at in terms
of what Vennemann (1972) calls «phonetic detail in assimilation».
He formulates two conventions regarding assimilation rules (p. 877):

Convention 1.   Assimilatory features in a rule environment must
be interpreted as relative to the corresponding features in the
assimilable (or assimilatorily affected) segment.

Convention 2. (Consequence:) The natural classes in the envi-
ronment of an assimilation rule are defined relative to each
particular assimilable segment and need not, therefore, be
identical.

That is, to use one of his examples: «A [w̥] is high only in its
own area, the *u* area or back area; but it is low in relation to the
area where front vowels are produced».

Of what relevance are the above conventions? In a broad sense,
the non-fronting of /u/ before /ś/ and /r/ is the result of assimila-
tion. In the anterior region /ś/ and /r/ (as well as /tś/, /l/ and
/R/ (4)) are back relative to the dentals, and /u/, a back sound, is
not fronted before these relatively back sounds. This is not an actual
assimilation process in the usual sense of the term, since there is no

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(4) Spanish /R/ and /r/ may also differ with respect to tongue position during
articulation. /r/ and /l/ together affect vowels in ways that /R/ does not, and
vice versa (cf. Vennemann (1972), pp. 883-884).

process as such; neither is it a dissimilation of /ü/ by /ś/ and /r/ for the same reason. To put it impressionistically, the fronting of the back vowel is blocked when the tongue must return immediately to a back position. Since it is always a following segment, not a preceding one (5), that prevents the change, the effect is regressive, as is the case with most assimilations (6).

The natural class that prevents fronting of /u/ in Souletin can now be redefined as

$$[+\text{coronal}, +\text{back}, -\text{tense}, -\text{lateral}] \quad (7)$$

Using these features, it is clear that the environment preventing /au/ → /ai/ in Souletin and Roncalese is a generalization of the above to [+coronal, +back]. For the fronting of /u/ Mixain has generalized the environment to [+back]: /r, ś, tś, g, k/ (and presumably /nk/, with /R/ excepted, however) (Lafon, p. 95).

At first glance it appears that the formal means of stating this rule is to treat it as a general rule having exceptions that form a natural class, as discussed in Chomsky-Halle (pp. 172-176, 374-375) (8). There would exist an unconditioned fronting rule in the phonological rules and a redundancy rule introducing a diacritic feature in words meeting a certain structural description:

$$\text{A.} \quad u \rightarrow [-\text{fronting rule}] / \underline{\hspace{3cm}} \begin{bmatrix} +\text{coronal} \\ +\text{back} \\ -\text{tense} \\ -\text{lateral} \end{bmatrix}$$

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(5) With the exception of initial /y/ blocking /au/ → /ai/ (Lafon, p. 93).

(6) Wang (1969), p. 22, ftnt. 22.

(7) To exclude /n/ the feature [—nasal] should also be mentioned, unless, as I suspect but cannot confirm, /n/ loses its coronality after /ü/, given the susceptibility of the nasal to assimilation. (It would probably be too far-fetched to attempt to claim that, as Lafon thought, /nk/ prevents /u/ → /ü/ because the /n/ begins underlyingly as a coronal sound (or becomes such after marking conventions apply) and acquires the feature [+back] by assimilation to the /k/ while still retaining both features when the fronting rule applies, thus joining /ś/ and /r/ in being [+coronal, +back]).

Vennemann (1972, p. 886) uses a diesis as the notational device to represent relative backness, height, etc.

(8) Exceptions of this type are also expailned in Lakoff, where it is mistakenly stated (p. 17) that Chomsky and Halle accept the convention, "Rule k: [ ] → [—Rule $k+1$] in some environment". A recent article dealing with exceptions (Brasington) was of little relevance to this paper.

If this method of stating the rule is used, it cannot be claimed that Roncalese and Mixain have simplified the Souletin rule. The opposite has occurred: the number of exceptions to a rule has increased through the generalization of a marked redundancy rule, adding to the complexity of the grammar. But if the blocking of the change of /u/ to /ü/ is an assimilation or is just short of being an assimilation, it should not be considered an unnatural or exceptional rule, and the formal statement of the rule should reflect its assimilatory nature. The rule could be stated in the following unorthodox manner for Mixain, for example:

B. u → ü/ ———— ~ [+back] (read as /u/ is fronted in all environments other than before back segments)

An «acceptable» means of stating this rule is in a form that appears to be logically equivalent,

C. u → ü/ —— [−back]

This shows the rule to be assimilatory in nature, but in the wrong sense. The fronting of /u/ appears to be «caused» by the following segment. Almost preferable to (C) would be a schema that is an incorrect but more accurate description,

D) 1. u → ü
    2. ü → u/ —— [+back]

(C) is further inadequate in that a statement of (B) analogous to (C) cannot be made for the Souletin version of the rule since it would not do to simply switch the signs of each of the features (to [−coronal, −back, +tense, +lateral]=/λ/, if the palatal lateral is tense).

It should be noted that the formalism of (B) (specifically, the negative operator) is acceptable (9) in conventions for stating

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(9) Acceptable according to Stanley (pp. 432-433). Chomsky and Halle discuss the example used by Stanley to show the need for negative sequence structure rules, but they restate the rule positively, commenting (p. 387), "We have no notion of 'simplicity' available that has any bearing on the choice between the alternative and equivalent [negative and positive] formulations. We therefore adopt the positively stated condition... in conformiy with our general practice".

morpheme structure conditions. For example, one sequence structure rule for Mixain could be

$$\sim \begin{bmatrix} -\text{back} \\ +\text{round} \end{bmatrix} [+\text{back}]$$

Since the segment /ü/ occurs only where it is introduced by the new and perhaps borrowed fronting rule, the fronting rule itself defines all possible situations in which /ü/ can occur and is thus equivalent to its morpheme structure conditions. A rule such as (B) is, therefore, the most accurate statement of the fronting rule for each of the Basque dialects (10).

Turning now to the velarization of /y/ (presumably pronounced [ž] or [ĵ]) to /x/ in certain parts of the Spanish Basque zone, what is unusual about this sound change is that in at least some areas it has not affected /š/ (Michelena, p. 170). But if the rule was borrowed from Spanish, as seems likely, it must have lost generality in transmission since it is believed (Alarcos Llorach, p. 272; Harris, p. 196; Otero, p. 310) that at the time of its effect in Spanish there existed no /ž/ (word-initial variant, /ĵ/), the previous /ž/ having merged with /š/ by a devoicing of fricatives and affricates. Even if one considers /ĵ/ an underlying phoneme of Modern Spanish, as does Harris (p. 166), there would exist no rule /ĵ/ → /x/ but rather (after /ĵ/ → /ž/, or assuming it is underlyingly /ž/ to begin with) /ž, š/ → /x/; or, as Harris has it, /ĵ/ → /ž/ (laxing rule), /ž/ → /š/ (fricative devoicing), /š/ → /x/. Neither is it possible to use the explanation that what Basque has borrowed is not the rule /š/ → /x/ with lessened generality, but instead the minor rule posited by Harris (p. 165, ftnt. 3), which the Basque rule more closely resembles, changing /i/ to /ĵ/ initially and after a formative boundary (11), since this /ĵ/ would still have to become /x/ by

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(10) Admittedly, the statement of (B) is very close to the Chomsky-Halle method of treating exceptions. But, to summarize the argument presented, (B) wins out for three reasons: the sound change can be (and should be) stated as one rule; its generality in Mixain is easily seen, and predicted if King's hypothesis is accepted; it does not seem plausible for a language to have redundancy rules affecting phonological rules that introduce a previously non-existent sound.

(11) The environment of the rule is not specified by Harris. I have generalized the environment from the examples he gave (bringing out the similarity between this and the Basque rule).

some rule. A more likely possibility is that the bilinguals through whose agency the rule was borrowed (assuming borrowing is accomplished via bilinguals), being aware of both the underlying phoneme and its eventual surface result, «telescoped» the Spanish rules to one rule, /ž/ → /x/ (12).

I think the most reasonable way of looking at this problem is to consider it an instance of the diffusion of a particular sound from one language to another (13) rather than the borrowing of a phonological rule. In Basque the rule /y/ → /x/ would then be what Vennemann (1969, p. 240) calls a «typological adjustment rule... motivated by a momentary imbalance in the segmental system» (14). That is, to use an argument frequently found in the writings of the structural historians of the fifties (Martinet et al.), [ǰ] or [ž] was an anomaly (marked, relative to other sounds in the language) in a consonantal system in which all fricatives and affricates were voiceless, and some Spanish Basque dialects borrowed the voiceless /x/ to replace the voiced segment, reestablishing without merger a completely voiceless fricative/affricate series (15).

What is the final verdict on King's hypothesis in relation to the

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(12)   The term and the idea are Wang's (1968, p. 708).

(13)   The concept of sound diffusion is perhaps most frequently encountered in works on American Indian languages (cf. Haas, pp. 82-92). One specific example I know of is the high central barred-*i* of Chumash (Central California Indian languages), which, according to Applegate (p. 6) "is poorly integrated into the Chumash vowel system" (being characterized by idiosyncratic behavior in vowel harmony, e.g.) and may have diffused into Chumash from Uto-Aztecan.

(14)   Vennemann is of course not the originator of this concept. It is at least implied in Jakobson (pp. 218-219) and can be thought of as a basic tenet of historical structuralism.

As an aside, if the systematic phoneme underlying [x] in Basque is /y/ or /i/, then the change is one occurring completely at surface level: a [ž] from /i/ became [x], with the underlying phoneme unchanged.

(15)   A more convincing case for diffusion could be made if, for instance, the source of Basque /x/ had been a hypothetical /z/ existing as the language's only voiced consonant. For ·/y/ → /x/ it is difficult to claim that the rule has nothing to do with Spanish /ž/ or /i/ → ... → /x/, its only relation to Spanish being that the sound /x/ was diffused from the neighboring language. Basque may have borrowed a telescoped version of the rule, or, to introduce another possibility, it could be that in borrowing, a (foreign) language modifies rules to suit its own needs, using various means, including lessened generality. Even for cases that are clearly attributable to diffusion, it is probably true that when a sound is replaced by a diffused sound, the new sound is in some way related to the replaced segment. In the Chumash example above, Applegate mentions (p. 6) that barred-*i* is "likely to be a secondary development of /i/" (not completely replacing it but causing a phonemic split).

two sound changes discussed here? (16) It has been shown that in spreading to at least one dialect (Mixain) the fronting rule of Souletin became more general —evidence of the validity of the hypothesis for interdialectal borrowing. Assuming that Souletin borrowed the rule from Bearnese, and if [ž] → [x] is a borrowed less general form of the Spanish /š/ → /x/, what can be concluded is that King's hypothesis may not be valid in instances of inter-language rule borrowing, if indeed there does exist such borrowing, and what appears to be rule borrowing between languages is not more accurately thought of as sound diffusion.

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(16) It could be claimed that Souletin /u/ → /ü/ is due to diffusion, but the argument is weaker here because there is no structural motivation for the rule.

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ADDENDUM

Geoffrey Sampson suggests the use of a negative environment similar to (B) above, but abandons the idea after proposing an alternative analysis for a problem he discusses in «Duration in Hebrew Consonants», *Linguistic Inquiry,* IV (1973), no. 1, pp. 101-104.
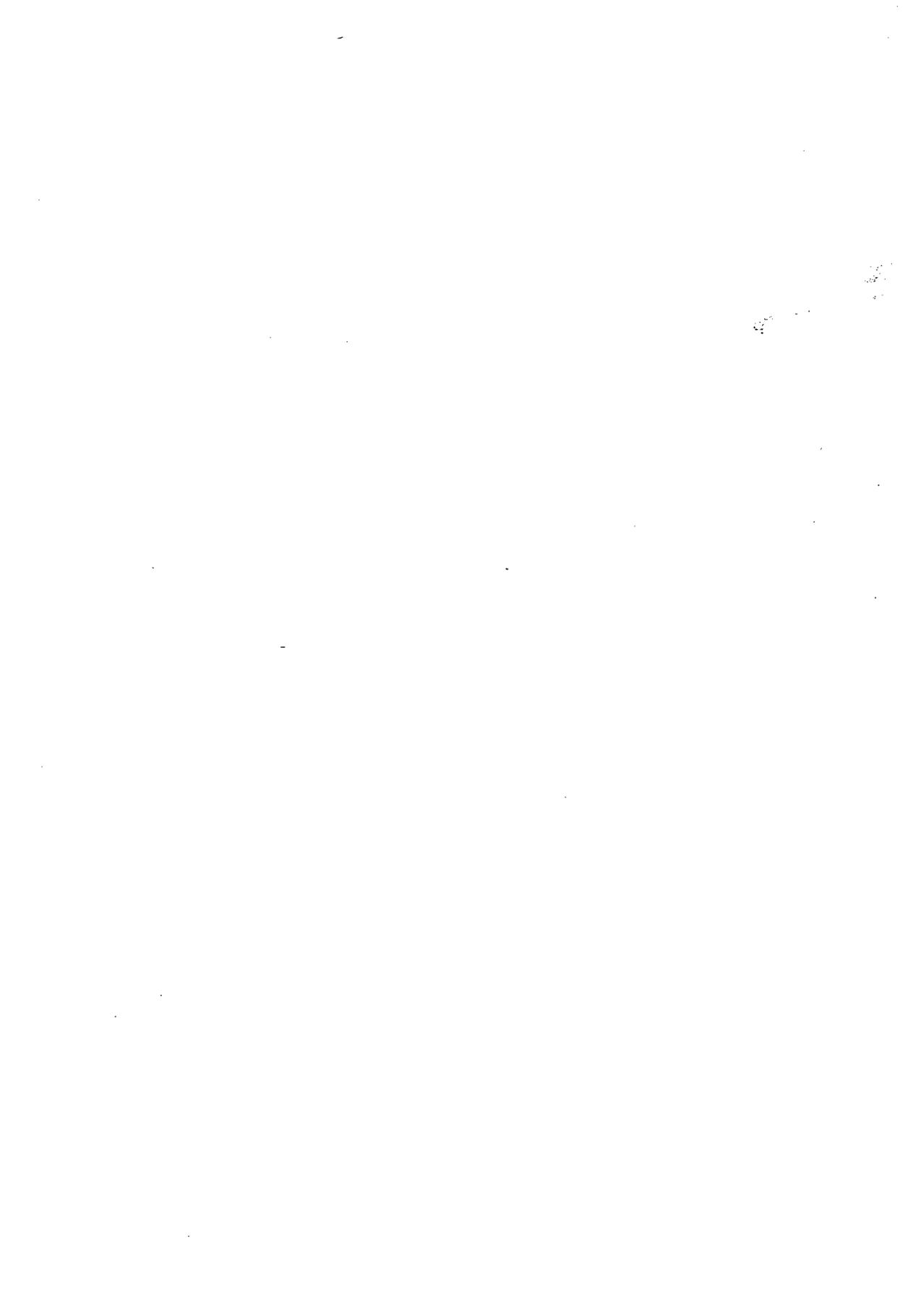
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